

IN THESE TIMES

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ROOTS HOW DEEP?



High school students on Chicago's South Side speak out on Roots. See page 11. (Photo by Jane Melnick.)

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IN THESE TIMES

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NEWSFRONT

Labor's untold stories

Sadlowski seen
as "strike-happy"

Faced with possible fraud in the Feb. 8 Steelworkers election, Edward Sadlowski is refusing to concede to Lloyd McBride. Most likely, the challenges will come to the huge margins McBride built up in the South and Canada.

But Sadlowski organizers are wonder-
ing what happened in the big Midwestern
steel locals, where fraud is an unlikely ex-
planation of Sadlowski's showing. The
Sادلowski strategy was to run big margins
in Pittsburgh, Chicago-Gary, and Buffalo
and then to garner whatever protest vote
could evade the vote-stealers in the South
and Canada.

But the Sadlowski margin in the big
Midwestern locals was way beneath what
anyone expected, including the McBride
people, and the automatic protest vote,
which gave even a colorless challenger like
Emil Narick 180,000 votes in 1969, seems
not to have materialized.

In Chicago-Gary, where Sadlowski sup-
porters expected a three-to-one margin,
Sادلowski got 33,411 votes to McBride's
22,070. In his 1974 contest with Sam Evett
for District Director, Sadlowski had ac-
tually done better, getting 39,637 votes
to Evett's 20,058.

In Pittsburgh, which McBride is re-
ported to have "written off" in his cam-
paign, Sadlowski squeaked by, with
34,513 votes to McBride's 32,322.

"There was a strike fear on the part of
a lot of workers, particularly older work-
ers," one organizer from the Pittsburgh
area told *IN THESE TIMES*. "They really
were afraid that Sadlowski was strike-
happy."

The steel plants, he explained, had not
gone on strike since 1959, and the bitter
1977 winter had just laid off thousands
of workers. With negotiations coming up,
many workers feared that Sadlowski, who
based much of his campaign on opposi-
tion to the no-strike ENA, would encour-
age a strike. The fact that Sadlowski
would not take office until June, after the
negotiations will probably be over, didn't
really quiet these fears. (Existing president
I.W. Abel had also threatened to resign
immediately if Sadlowski won.)

Another person who worked in the
campaign spoke of its having developed
a "momentum of its own" — of having
gone from an intraunion struggle to being
a movement in which the issues became
broader and the stakes higher. While that
represented the achievement of the Sad-
lowski campaign, on which future efforts
will have to build, it also contributed to



Michigan citizens protest the cover-up of the PBB contamination scandal.
(See ITT, Nov. 22, 1976)

Photo by Tim Keefe

his defeat by scaring away the protest
vote.

"People are more willing to vote for
someone like Narick who was basically
saying nothing against someone they hat-
ed than to vote for someone who was
really saying something against someone
they hated."

Sادلowski is expected to be appointed
Jim Ballinoff's deputy in his old Chicago-
Gary district. Balinoff was the one firm
Sادلowski supporter to win office. Rum-
ors have it that the next step may be entry
into the electoral arena.

A left coalition
in AFL-CIO

While Sadlowski was falling behind Mc-
Bride in the vote count, William W. Win-
pisinger was declared the winner in his un-
contested race for the presidency of the In-
ternational Association of Machinists.
With 936,000 members spread over the
aerospace and defense industries, the air-
lines, railroads, and auto repair, metal-
fabricating, and electronics shops, the
IAM is the nation's fifth largest union,
and its president is entitled to sit on the
AFL-CIO's 35-member executive council.

Winpisinger aims, he says, to create a
"new left coalition" on the council that
will fill the power vacuum after George
Meany, of whom Winpisinger is extremely
critical, leaves office. Among his allies, he
counts Jerry Wurf of the American Fed-
eration of State, County, and Municipal
Employees, A.F. Grospiron of the Oil,
Chemical and Atomic Workers, and
Glenn E. Watts of the Communications
Workers of America. If the UAW re-
affiliates, Winpisinger also expects
Douglas Fraser to be an ally.

These unionists, who formed the back-
bone of McGovern's support in 1972 and
pressured Carter from the left in 1976, can
be expected to emphasize organizing the
unorganized and social planning as a solu-
tion to America's economic problems.

"We have to convince our members,
even those in the \$20,000 range," Win-
pisinger said recently, "that they should
not be saving their contempt for those be-
neath them but for the 4 percent of the
population that owns 70 percent of the
wealth."

"Unemployment," Winpisinger said,
"is the great suppressant of any leftist

trend in the society. It stifles dissent on
the campuses, among welfare mothers,
in the factories, and everywhere else.
The labor movement is drifting to the
right, along with everybody else. We have
an obligation to stand fast against that."

With many members in defense-related
production, Winpisinger is nevertheless
critical of the defense budget.

"In an economy where we are taking
out \$200 billion to build guns and bombs
and all that kind of nonsense, I am ap-
palled to hear people say we can't take
out \$5 billion or \$6 billion to cure poverty
and unemployment. I agree with Carter
that the defense budget can be cut."

Blue-collars
and tuxedos

This February was the 40th anniversary
of the Flint sitdown strike, an event that
more than any other sparked the growth
of industrial unionism in the 1930s and the
organization of the United Auto Workers
and the United Steelworkers. Last Friday,
some UAW officials joined the manage-
ment of General Motors in a commemora-
tive dinner.

"There were growing pains," GM
Chairman Thomas Murphy rhap-
sodized, "but we now have a healthy and
constructive relationship. They really
don't think we're dirty bastards, and we
certainly don't think they are."

Murphy looked forward to the day
when strikes "will virtually never be used
as a weapon."

Leonard Woodcock, retiring UAW
president, echoed Murphy's sentiments.
While Woodcock still saw conflicts be-
tween the union and the company, he pro-
claimed that they were "allies in the great-
er context."

UAW vice-president Irving Bluestone
quipped, "Tom Murphy has actually be-
come a blue collar executive."

But others in the UAW were grumbling
about Woodcock and Bluestone having
become "tuxedo unionists." Incoming
president Douglas Fraser and secretary-
treasurer Emil Mazey boycotted the din-
ner.

Genora Dollinger and Bob Travis,
two of the leaders of the sitdown, were
not among those even invited to the din-
ner. "It's an outright betrayal of what
we fought for," Dollinger told the *Wall
Street Journal*.

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Some day Panama might own its canal

Panama, U.S. reopen negotiations with both sides confident that this will be the final round of talks.

By Cam Duncan

In his effort to change the face of U.S. foreign policy from the blunt imperialism of the Vietnam war period to a more "responsible" relationship with the Third World, President Carter has assigned high priority to a new Panama Canal treaty. Last week, negotiations began on the tiny island of Contadora, with Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker representing the U.S. and Nicolas Gonzalez Revilla, the ambassador to the U.S., representing Panama.

Despite having said during his foreign-policy debate with Ford last fall that he favored continued American "control" over the canal, Carter seems anxious to make settlement of the Canal issue one of his first international achievements. The problem now seems less one of agreement at the negotiating table than of selling the new treaty to a skeptical Congress and to the Pentagon.

Observers in Washington claim that if Carter does not get the treaty signed by the end of this year, he may not be able to do it at all, since 1978 is a mid-election year and by 1979 presidential elections will be on the horizon again.

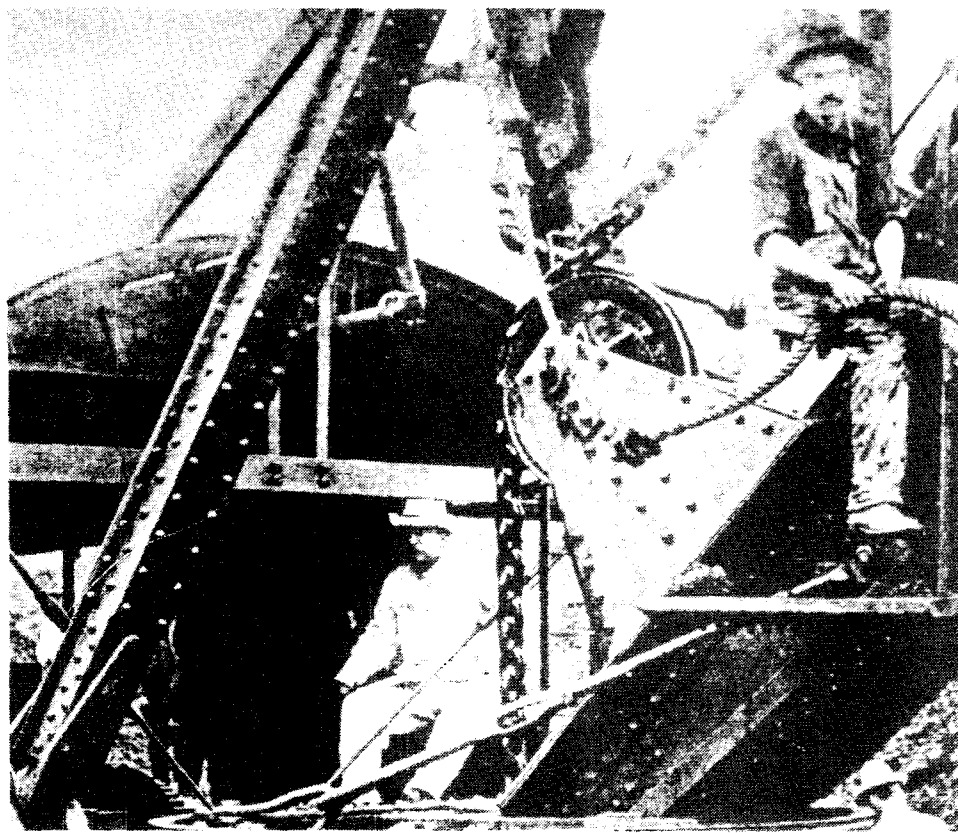
►A prerequisite for good relations.

Both sides seem confident that this will be the final round of negotiations that began 13 years ago but took on a new look after the "Agreement of Principles" was signed in February 1974. The agreement provided that a new treaty would "promptly" transfer jurisdiction over the 51-mile-long Panama Canal and the 550-square-mile Canal Zone and fix a date for the assumption by Panama of "total responsibility for the operation of the canal."

Latin American governments regard replacement of the 1903 treaty which granted America control of the Zone "in perpetuity" as a prerequisite for good relations with the Carter administration. The presidents of seven Latin American countries—Colombia, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua and Venezuela—sent Carter a letter before his inauguration calling the Zone a "colonial enclave."

Advocates of a new treaty fear that another breakdown in negotiations could

lead to an outburst of anti-U.S. violence in the Zone. In fact, tensions are still high after a January incident, on the anniversary of the 1964 riots in which 21 Panamanians and three American soldiers died, when about 100 Panamanian students marched into the Zone and burned a U.S. flag.



President Theodore Roosevelt digging Panama Canal.

►Linowitz appointed.

Although Carter is anxious to dispose of the colonial blemish represented by the Canal Zone, his approach to the new treaty indicates that he does not advocate fundamental changes in policy toward Latin America. Carter has appointed liberal Sol Linowitz as co-negotiator on the canal with Bunker.

Linowitz, a Washington lawyer and former ambassador to the Organization of American States, served as chairman of the Commission on U.S.-Latin American Relations that released a report last December declaring that the "most urgent issue" facing the new administration in the Western Hemisphere "is un-

questionably the smoldering dispute with Panama."

Significantly, the Linowitz commission report pointed out that the U.S. "does not need perpetual control of the Canal for exclusive control over it"—an invitation for policy makers to make face-saving, tension-reducing concessions to Latin

American military presence in the Zone for an additional 25 years.

Although the Canal is no longer such a vital waterway—it is too small for today's aircraft carriers and supertankers—the U.S. wants a guarantee that it and all other countries will be allowed unrestricted use of the canal in the future. There has been some speculation about constructing a larger canal in less politically tense territory, such as southern Mexico or Nicaragua.

After his Jan. 31 preliminary meeting with Panamanian foreign minister Boyd, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance said the main question to be decided was the termination date of the new treaty. Clearly the Panamanian and American positions have drawn closer together after Carter's election.

►U.S. reduces demands.

"We are willing to discuss the possibilities of bilateral guarantees," Boyd said recently. He added, however, that such guarantees "cannot represent a U.S. right to intervene in the canal unilaterally after the year 2000. We do not want another 'perpetuity' clause in disguise."

The U.S. has reduced its demand for control of the canal from 25 to 20 years, and from 50 to 40 years for its bases and certain defense rights. Washington is also willing to scale down the number of bases and hand over half the territory of the Zone to Panama immediately after the treaty is ratified.

The major forces in the U.S. and Panama pushing for the new treaty include Panamanian businessmen and American multinationals, who might collectively be called the representatives of "social capitalism," or the long-term interests of international capitalism. They see the rationalization of the colonial status of the Canal Zone as crucial to maintaining American hegemony in Latin America and to the further development of capitalism in Panama.

Panamanian officials believe their economy would soar under the impetus of a new treaty. Although the U.S.-controlled Canal Zone generates some \$250 million in annual income for Panama, Panamanian businessmen view the Zone

Continued on page 9.

Cocky Soglin comes in second in Madison race

By Judy Strasser

Madison, Wis. A smug incumbency cost Mayor Paul Soglin the lead in last Tuesday's mayoral primary election in Madison.

Soglin, 31, whose reputation as a radical spread across the country after his election as mayor of this university town in 1973, came in second to his conservative challenger, 25-year-old alderman Anthony J. "Nino" Amato. Amato received 39 percent of the 42,000 votes cast; Soglin, 31 percent. A run-off election between the two men will occur April 5.

Soglin showed electoral strength only in the central part of the city, areas close to the Univ. of Wisconsin with large student and low-income populations. But in these districts—the main source of Soglin's support in 1973 and again in 1975—27-year-old city council president Michael Sack gave Soglin a very close race. Sack, a member of the Socialist Party, came in third in the primary, with 16.6 percent of the votes. Michael Duffey, 30, a moderate candidate, won 11.6 percent.

Two other candidates, cafe-owner George Bolden and David Robb, a parking lot attendant and perennial student whose brother is married to Lynda Byrd Johnson, each received less than 1 percent of the vote.

►A low-energy campaign for Soglin.

Soglin ran a low-energy campaign, relying on his record of accomplishments in the past four years to win him votes. But both Amato and Sack campaigned extensively, attacking Soglin's administration from the right and the left.

Amato focused on Soglin's anti-business, pro-sex attitudes; Sack attacked him as too conservative.

Amato, whose careful ward-by-ward campaign organization won the admiration of all his opponents, emphasized Soglin's "anti-business attitude," alleged fiscal irresponsibility and failure to close down "commercial sex" establishments in the city as important reasons to vote against the mayor. Amato charged that Madison's commercial tax base has eroded during Soglin's terms in office, a problem he called especially serious for a city in which 40 percent of the land is not taxable because it is owned by the university or the state.

Amato often referred to a controversial survey conducted last year by Univ. of Wisconsin Business School professor Jon

Udell. Udell reported that local business leaders "frequently and vigorously" cited an "unfavorable governmental attitude" as a major drawback in doing business in Madison.

Amato also accused Soglin of "spending our tax dollars on questionable social programs," including city-funded day care. He promised that he would "rearrange city spending priorities by concentrating on efficiently providing the basic city services." Amato, who was elected to Madison's city council in 1975, has been a frequent and vociferous critic of Soglin's fiscal policies. He and Sack have occasionally found themselves on the same side of budget issues in council meetings, and during the campaign Amato praised Sack for attacking exorbitant salaries paid to top city administrators.

►A haven for "commercial sex."

Amato's flashiest campaign pitch, however, was his charge that Soglin has allowed Madison to become a "haven for commercial sex." The uproar over massage parlors and pornographic bookstores began in Madison long before Soglin's election as mayor. Indeed, George Bolden, at 53 the oldest mayoral candidate, told Amato, "This is your big issue and [these places have] been here since before

you were in diapers."

Soglin's ultra-conservative predecessor, William Dyke, had tried to take his own crusade against sex to the shelves of the public library, the walls of the city-subsidized Madison Art Center, and the reading lists of the local schools. Soglin defeated Dyke in 1973 after a bitter campaign in which sex was a major point of contention. In 1974, Dyke ran for governor as a Republican with the enthusiastic help of campaign coordinator Nino Amato, then a newcomer to politics. Last year, Lester Maddox chose Dyke as his vice-presidential running mate on the American Independent Party ticket. The choice caused Amato some embarrassment, but apparently cost him few votes in his own non-partisan mayoral bid.

While Amato focused the concern of Madison's white, middle-class neighborhoods on Soglin's anti-business, pro-sex attitudes, Sack attacked the policies of the supposedly radical mayor as too conservative. Sack's campaign organization included several leftists who supported Soglin in 1973 and 1975, people disenchanted with their former comrade, his new grey flannel suits, and his Democratic Party friends. Sack and his supporters argued

Continued on page 16.

Property tax rebellion in Massachusetts

By Sidney Blumenthal

Boston. Late in 1976, Richard Hill, chairman of the First National Bank of Boston, and Mark Wheeler, chairman of the New England Merchants Bank, informed Boston Mayor Kevin White that unless the city sharply cuts its services the banks would not be able to sell Boston's bonds.

This quiet lobbying for fiscal austerity followed the successful strategy that the banks had used to force service cutbacks on the state in 1975. The state government had promptly caved in, and the interest rates on the new bonds had been the highest ever, a windfall for the banks.

They now hope to repeat the drama with the city of Boston by creating an uneasy atmosphere in which cutbacks would be generally accepted by the public as the price to pay for fiscal solvency.

The success of this program may depend on how the property tax question is dealt with. The media periodically heralds a "taxpayer revolt" that never seems to materialize, but in Massachusetts the matter is beginning to come to a head.

Bay State residents pay the highest property tax per capita in the nation—in 1973, while the U.S. average was \$216, Massachusetts citizens shelled out \$358. Boston raised a larger share of its revenues from property taxes than any other comparable large city.

Chicago, for instance, garnered 37.7 percent of its funds from this tax, New York City only 24.4, and Los Angeles 29.5. Boston, however, depended on it for 58 percent of its revenue.

Currently, property in Massachusetts is not assessed at full value. Concern is heightening since the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court recently ruled that all property must be assessed at 100 percent of its value by 1978.

The banks have already formulated a legislative program to channel anger over the property tax. They intend to push a bill through the state legislature that would enable cities to replace part of their property tax load with a broadened sales tax, the most regressive form of taxation.

On Feb. 8, in freezing temperature, 600 people, an integrated, almost uniformly middle-aged crowd, marched to Mayor White's house after a stormy meeting on the issue. White wasn't home, but from his defensive attitude expressed the next



Secret agreements between the assessor's office and developers, known as "golden handshakes," set a low assessment rate on new buildings before they are built.

day, it was evident that the demonstration had made an impression on him.

The group that led the protest is Massachusetts Fair Share, a largely working-class organization with a state-wide membership of over 2,000. Fair Share is pressing an alternative program to that advocated by the banks and their political allies. While the banks intend to shift the forms of taxation, Fair Share is concentrating on the loopholes in existing assessment practices.

"Golden handshakes" are among the most lucrative loopholes for commercial

property owners. These are secret agreements made between the assessor's office and developers which set a low rate of taxation on new buildings before they are built. A number of these "handshake" deals were revealed to Fair Share by the city, showing a broad pattern of special favors. While homes are now assessed at an average 32 percent of value, commercial properties, as a result of "handshake" arrangements, are assessed at an average 12.5 percent rate. Some buildings get even sweeter deals. The First National Bank, for example, is assessed at 8.75 percent, and the Shawmut Bank at 6.9 percent.

Fair Share researchers estimate that the city could raise from \$25 to \$30 million in tax dollars if this single loophole was closed.

Another means by which big property owners evade taxes is through the abatement process, an arbitrary and hidden assessing technique. Fair Share found that Boston Gas recently obtained a \$688,000 abatement and New England Telephone got a nifty \$430,000 abatement.

An almost fool-proof method large property owners use to avoid paying taxes is simply not to pay them. At the end of 1975, \$30 million in back taxes was owed the city. Among the offenders were the owners of the Sears-Crescent Building, a \$400,000 delinquent.

Many businesses that don't pay taxes are not listed as delinquent because they claim the city has no right to tax them. All the enterprises located at Boston's Logan Airport insist on this privileged status. The airlines themselves refuse to pay over \$6 million in property taxes because they deny the city's power to levy them. About \$11 million in tax dollars is padding the profit columns of Hertz, Avis, the Hilton Hotel, Eastern Airlines, American Airlines, etc., rather than flowing into Boston's tax coffers as a consequence of this stubborn business practice.

By pointing out these inequities in the tax system, Fair Share hopes to counter the banks' offensive. At present it is an unequal contest, with the banks exercising unparalleled power, heady after their 1975 victory in the state fiscal crisis.

Yet they are wary of the brewing tax revolt. Gov. Michael Dukakis, for instance, who has been amenable to their position in the past, opposes any increase in the state sales tax. He is carefully preparing himself for reelection and knows an unpopular issue when he sees it. Dukakis' strategy for coping with the property tax question depends upon the federal government picking up much of the tab for welfare costs. This is one of the things he desires from Carter as part of a quid pro quo in which Dukakis provided valuable political aid to Carter when he was a candidate. This is a murky prospect at present.

Sidney Blumenthal writes for the *Boston Phoenix* and is the editor of *Government by Gunplay* (New American Library).

Photo by Minn. Citizens' Review Commission



Nilak Butler of the Leonard Peltier Defense Group

dians have always represented a different thought."

Testifying about the daily life on his reservation, Bill Means of the International Indian Treaty Council said, "People live day-to-day with words like FBI, armored personnel carrier, raids, M-16s, bail, bond—even kids in grade school use and understand these words."

The commission is one of a number of efforts to bring the FBI under public control. John Trudell summed up its purpose: it wants the FBI "to explain what it has done and to be held accountable for it."

Karen Northcott works in the national office of the Native American Solidarity Committee, a participating organization in the Minnesota Citizens' Review Commission on the FBI.

Citizens Review Commission takes on FBI in Minnesota

By Karen Northcott

"Dino Butler, you are nothing but a worthless scumbag, and I promise you, one day I am going to kill you!" These were the parting words of an FBI agent after Butler was acquitted of the murder of two FBI agents in Pierre, S.D. Butler, who was telling his story to the Minnesota Citizens Review Commission on the FBI, was one of many native Americans who testified about FBI threats on his life, harassment of his family, provocation, and even the offering of a new identity if he would confess or implicate other native Americans.

The Commission, a coalition of 27 Twin Cities organizations, held public hearings Feb. 3-6 in Minneapolis to probe the extra-legal activities of the FBI as directed from the Minneapolis Regional Office, which oversees agents in Minnesota and the Dakotas.

The groups hope to have the commission, made up of people from the religious, political, educational and labor sectors of the community, officially recognized. They want to establish an impartial citizens' review board with power to subpoena FBI files for an investigation.

Commission witnesses saw a parallel between historical figures like Crazy Horse and Geronimo who were labeled as savages because they demanded treaty rights and the labeling of today's militants like Leonard Peltier and Angie Long Visitor as criminals for making the same demands.

Dino Butler described June 26, 1975, in Oglala, S.D., as the day "we were under attack by the FBI. When we were up on that hill, bullets were flying all around us." Many of the abuses described by witnesses stemmed from the deaths of two FBI agents that day. Butler and Bob Robideaux were charged, tried and acquitted for those deaths. In trying to make their case the FBI seems to have set aside the Bill of Rights and broken many other laws.

Norman Brown, a 16-year-old Navajo said the FBI interrogated him for six hours, refusing to let him contact a lawyer, while terrorizing his mother who was also present with stories that it was Brown who had done the killing.

Rosalyn Jumping Bull, in whose home the agents died, described the interior of her home, riddled with bullet holes and

unlivable because of the lingering smell of teargas. FBI agents had mutilated pictures of her nephew, cousin and brother who died in World War I, World War II and Korea. "It was as if they were mad at us for having the pictures there," she said.

Mrs. Jumping Bull described with tears the arrest of her daughter, Angie Long Visitor, as a material witness for the trial of Leonard Peltier, the remaining defendant charged with the murder of the two agents. She spoke of the FBI hunt for her son Ivis Long Visitor.

"They asked me if I wanted to talk, if I wanted to tell them where my son is. They said they would pay me something, maybe I needed a new car," she said.

"They told me even after the Peltier trial is over, Ivis is still going to jail," she said.

"They want to put Leonard on trial for an idea that he represents—not for any crimes that he has committed," said John Trudell of the Leonard Peltier defense group. "They want to try him not because he killed anybody but because he represents a different thought, just as the American Indian Movement has always represented a different thought, just as In-

COMMENTARY

The story of Two Pauls: not a morality lesson

by Alan Wolfe

For years Paul Nitze and Paul Warnke worked together. Each was a near-perfect representative of the "Eastern Establishment." Both came to Washington in the early '60s, and each could serve as an example of the "best and the brightest." Both were sought after by Lyndon Johnson. At one point, Warnke worked for Nitze at the Defense Department. The two Pauls worked so closely together that their names were frequently confused. In the '60s they appeared to be twin peas in the same ruling class pod.

On Feb. 9, 1977, Paul Nitze led the attack on the confirmation of Paul Warnke as head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and chief of the U.S. delegation to the SALT talks. In his remarks Nitze left the clear impression that Warnke's thoughts on matters of defense came close to being "screwball" and "arbitrary."

The two Pauls had gone their separate ways. The story of their disagreement is the story of the breakup of the Cold War consensus in U.S. foreign policy, for each Paul has become an articulate spokesman for a different theory of American power.

Vietnam destroyed the unanimity that had existed within the Democratic party about America's relationship to the Soviet Union and therefore the world. Before the Indochinese war, the thrust of the party's position on foreign policy had been determined by the Henry Jacksons and Stuart Symingtons. It was biased on the view that Soviet power was the major threat to American interests and that to combat this power the U.S. would have to commit itself to high defense budgets and to a strategy of intervention to make this strong defense posture "credible."

It was assumed that the U.S. could win any contest in the world and that in doing so it would have the full support of the American people. Vietnam shattered both assumptions. Policy makers returned to their studies during the Republican hiatus to seek the lessons of the war in Vietnam.

►A political view vs. an economic view.

Each Paul came up with a different answer. Their disagreement had become clear by the closing days of the Ford Administration. Nitze identified himself with a group called the Committee on the Present Danger, which argued that Soviet expansion was still the central issue of world politics. In order to meet this expansion, they argued, the defense budget should be increased even more, especially in the face of what were held to be rapid increases in Soviet military spending.

Nitze's answer to Vietnam was that the U.S. had not been strong enough.

Warnke made public a different response. His committee was chaired by Thornton Bradshaw—the liberal president of ARCO Corp.—and contained men like Cyrus Vance. The Bradshaw Committee claimed that the Soviets had proven themselves responsible; therefore, the U.S. could now afford to take some initial steps towards arms reductions.

Warnke had his own answer for Vietnam: a new approach to foreign policy no longer steeped in Cold War rhetoric. The split between the two Pauls had become quite visible.

Both Nitze's committee and Warnke's were funded with impeccable ruling class money. Both were supported by the Rockefeller family. Both were composed of distinguished luminaries. Why is it that they cannot agree? Their difference is, ironically, one which many revolutionary movements have had to face: do economic struggles take precedence over political ones or vice versa?

The Nitze view is, at root, political. With a geopolitical conception of the world, Nitze and those like him argue that the main problem for the U.S. is the assertion of national sovereignty. It is clear to them that the U.S. has been losing its advantage over the Soviet Union, which makes it less credible as a political force in the world. Only by building up its weapons systems and ability to intervene can the U.S. remain the dominant global power.

In short, the main considerations of this school of thought revolve around the nation state and its position among other nation states.

►A new international system.

Warnke's view begins with a different set of assumptions. He views the problem as an economic one. National sovereignty is no longer as important as it once was because the nation state is being superceded by a world capitalist system whose driving logic is not the global power of a state, but the strength of an international system of productive relations.

Is the Soviet Union part of that world economy? Warnke clearly thinks that it is. Although they have an internal system that to him must appear bizarre, in the international economic system the Soviet Union clearly has become a conservative force, sharing with U.S. capitalism a desire to maintain stable markets and an international division of labor that works to the profit of the most powerful states. Thus the interests of American capitalists are best served by recognizing the economic power of the Soviet Union and moving away from a military



Paul Warnke (center) chats with Sen. Frank Church prior to appearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for hearings on his nomination.

Photo by UPI

confrontation with them.

These differing perspectives for post-Vietnam foreign policy lead to drastically different consequences, which is why the debate between the two Pauls is necessarily acrimonious. In Nitze's view the domestic program of military spending and doses of anti-communism must be retained as a unifying ideology. This is the theme sounded by the Coalition for a Democratic Majority, which is leading the attack on Warnke.

Warnke's problem is that if he adopts the relaxed view of the Soviet threat, he needs a new unifying theme for consumption at home. Calling on the people to love and respect multinational corporations is not likely to work. Warnke and the economic theorists who share his views are going to run into real problems if they cannot sell their ideas to the American people.

►Cold War or relaxation.

If the Nitze position wins out in this debate, the Cold War continues more or less as usual. If Warnke wins out, the whole shape of the world system is likely to be altered. There may be arms reductions, for neither the Soviet nor the U.S. economy currently benefits from wasteful military spending. There may be a relaxation of international tensions, for neither peoples are moved much these days by the usual Cold War rhetoric.

Both of these changes are to be wel-

comed, for we have lived far too long under the insanities of Cold War terror. But to assume that the Warnke position will usher in a golden age of international harmony is to misunderstand his motives. Warnke's perspective relaxes the political tensions of the Cold War, but it exacerbates the economic tensions inherent in a world capitalist system.

It is Warnke, not Nitze, who has his fingers on the pulse of capitalist transformations. For that very reason, it is also Warnke, and not Nitze, who could constitute a greater threat to the long-run desires of ordinary people for some control over the conditions that affect their lives.

This by no means suggests that we should oppose Warnke's nomination, for the policies he advocates are welcome. What it does suggest is that we should refuse to allow Warnke the pleasure of bringing about peace with the Soviets in order to wage war on ordinary Americans. If in his view the Soviet Union is no longer the enemy, he retains the belief that the working class is. Of the two Pauls, Warnke's is the position that reminds us that ultimately struggles are about productive relationships, not strategic balances, and for that reason alone it would be well worth seeing him confirmed.

Alan Wolfe writes regularly for *In These Times* from Berkeley.

By Sally Banes

The nation's oldest "underground" newspaper, New York's *Village Voice* is facing a crisis. In the wake of the third sale of the paper in less than eight years, workers at the *Voice* have formed a union and are demanding recognition and negotiations with the new owner, Australian press baron Rupert Murdoch, whose January purchase of controlling interest in New York Magazine Co. (which owns *New York* and *New West* magazines in addition to the *Village Voice*) received widespread attention.

Murdoch, the son of an influential Australian newsman, owns over 80 papers in Australia, Britain and the U.S. He has a history of turning his papers into financially successful sensationalist tabloids.

The staff of *New York* walked out spontaneously to protest the sale to Murdoch. Since that time, some of the staff has resigned and key positions have been filled by Murdoch appointees. There have been no apparent attempts at organizing further.

Voice employees, likewise, lost no time

Village Voice workers organize into a union

in responding to the sale. On Sunday, Jan. 9, *Voice* employees voted to organize and to affiliate with District 55, Distributive Workers of America. But management refused to recognize the union, charging that the workers had been pressured into signing up.

The organizing effort at the *Voice*, blossoming immediately in response to Murdoch's sudden takeover, had been germinating for years. When Clay Felker took over the *Voice* in 1974, employees began to consider affiliating with the Newspaper Guild. But they abandoned the idea because of the inflexible position of the Guild on the question of free-lance contributors—also one of the thorny issues in the current battle with management.

The question of free-lance contributors is important because the majority of the *Voice* writing and art staff are considered "free-lance," even though many of

these "free-lancers" contribute weekly and have no other income than the *Voice* paycheck. The "free-lance caucus" of the union agreed that, ideally, anyone who has been published in the *Voice*, even once, should be eligible to join the union, though union benefits should be scaled according to regularity and volume of publication.

This open policy would make the union strong in both numbers and clout. It would also be an unprecedented recognition that the work of free-lance writers, photographers, and illustrators is, in fact, purchased labor just like wage labor.

On Jan. 27, a majority of *Voice* workers voted to strike at midnight, Feb. 3, if a satisfactory agreement for election procedures had not been secured with management. At an informational picket in front of the paper's offices on Jan. 31, workers chanted and sang of their desire of recog-

nition of the union and for a speedy election.

In response, management (which had already petitioned the National Labor Relations Board, in hopes of delaying the organizing drive, union members believe) agreed to meet with the union steering committee to discuss election and bargaining units.

Management also conceded on the question of allowing some free-lancers into the election unit. Though the free-lance categories are more restricted than union members had hoped, the exclusion of some of the free-lancers from the election unit does not disqualify them from joining the union. This recognition of free-lancers' rights to bargain collectively is a clear victory for the *Voice* union and a precedent in labor history.

The Feb. 3 strike was averted, but the *Voice* union is proceeding on a twofold path. Meeting with management to work out the details of the election, workers are simultaneously building a strike fund and preparing for an alternate publication, should talks break down.

Sally Banes is a free-lance writer and a member of the *Village Voice* Employees Union.

History lingers, prevents IUE-UE merger

By Dan Marshall
Staff Writer

On Nov. 28, 1949, Philip Murray, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), rose from his seat to address the founding convention of the International Union of Electrical workers (IUE). A month earlier, Murray, the protégé of CIO chief John L. Lewis, had performed the last rites on the United Electrical workers (UE) when it was forced out of the CIO for being "Communist dominated." Now he was presiding over the baptism of the union the CIO leadership had designed to take its place.

"The issue that brought about the expulsion of UE was one of Communism," Murray began. "The officers of that organization ... sought to create within the framework of the UE an American Communist Party designed in substance to lend aid and comfort not only to the cause of Communism in America, but also to the expansionist policies of the Soviet Union."

Murray's keynote speech continued in the same vein. He described UE officers as "common, ordinary, trade union parasites," "agents of Moscow," and "Communist hypocrites" who would "sell their soul for a mess of pottage and would trade the trade union movement down the river if it would serve their own interests."

The proof of these charges, Murray said, was that UE officers had never criticized the Soviet Union in CIO conventions and had refused to accept CIO policies on issues like the Marshall Plan and the presidential campaign of Henry Wallace. "You are in a good fight, a noble fight, and a holy fight. And may God bless you in these deliberations," Murray assured the IUE convention.

Among the 400 delegates listening to Murray's patriotic appeals was David Fitzmaurice, a 35-year-old electrical worker from Cleveland, Ohio, and a delegate from IUE Local 707. Almost 30 years later, Fitzmaurice is running the union. He became interim president last year upon the retirement of Paul Jennings, and then defeated challenger William Bywater, an executive board member and head of the New Jersey district, by some 9,000 votes in December.

After his victory, Fitzmaurice began talking about merging his union with the UE. He predicted that the unions would be combined "within a year" and that UE president Albert Fitzgerald would also like to "put the union back together."

Dick Niebur, director of UE's District 7, told IN THESE TIMES that Fitzmaurice has been one of the more cooperative IUE officials in coordinated UE-IUE bargaining and that he would work hard



Set up as an alternative to the UE, the IUE rebaited the parent union and raided its membership with the full support of the CIO leadership.

to develop a merger—if it were possible. But Niebur and other observers believe that's a long way off.

A major impediment to a merger is the remnants of anti-communism that remain in the IUE. Recent statements by Fitzmaurice suggest that red herrings are still prevalent in IUE halls.

Fitzmaurice has publicly decried rank and file insurgence within his once-quiet union. During Westinghouse negotiations last year, the largest IUE local in East Pittsburgh rejected a contract extension and went on strike, disrupting coordinated bargaining between IUE, UE and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW). Fitzmaurice's slim margin of victory in the race for IUE president, as well as the fact that only 30 percent of the membership bothered to vote, are also seen as indications of dissatisfaction within the union.

That dissatisfaction erupted into violence last August when members of "United to Fight in '76," a rank and file caucus in Dayton, Ohio, were attacked in a meeting of IUE Local 801. Nine peo-

ple were hospitalized in the 15-minute melee that started when one caucus member demanded to speak about a strike authorization vote. He was jumped, beaten unconscious, and hospitalized in critical condition. Another person was shot in the stomach. The caucus called the attack a "premeditated assault" carried out by union committeemen.

In the uproar that followed the beating, the president of Local 801 accused caucus members of "trying to destroy" the union. Three weeks later, Fitzmaurice came to Dayton and fielded questions by reporters. "I think you have a small dissident group who have the ability to make a lot of noise," Fitzmaurice said. "We see them cropping up everywhere around the country. Not only in the IUE, but everywhere."

"It begins to look a little familiar," Fitzmaurice explained, "like the problem we dealt with in Dayton in the '40s when we were dealing with the Communist party. We recognize their tactics. We have an old saying: 'if it walks like a duck and quacks like a duck, it's a duck.' I

don't care what they call themselves, we know who they are. And they're not going to destroy this local union, or take it over, or infiltrate it."

His explanation for the attack? "Has it ever been proven that one part of the dissident group didn't get beat up by another part of the dissident group," Fitzmaurice asked. "I know how these dissident groups operate and I wouldn't put that beyond them at all."

"It's the very idea of democracy they're taking advantage of," he concluded. "It's the very democracy that if they had their way, they would destroy."

Because of sentiments like these and other differences, observers see little chance of the UE and the IUE merging in the near future. "There's been no discussion of a merger," says Niebur, after returning from a UE executive board meeting. "The membership ratifies contracts in the UE, while the conference does it in the IUE. There are a lot of differences between the two unions and their constitutions that would have to be resolved," he says.

Coffee-making not her job

Fifty secretaries staged a demonstration on coffee making at the Public Defender's Office in Chicago Feb. 3. They were protesting the firing of Iris Rivera, a legal secretary in the Appellate Division, for refusing to make coffee.

The women, members of the Chicago office workers organization, Women Employed, wanted to make sure all the men in the office had the opportunity to learn to make coffee.

The purpose of the demonstration was also to let Rivera's boss "know that refusing to make coffee is not grounds for firing, and that secretaries deserve respect on the job," said Jean Hoffencamp, spokeswoman for WE. She pointed out that Rivera's written job description does not include making coffee, nor was it a condition of her employment.

Rivera is still at work. Her boss, James Geis, is on vacation, and the Public Defender's Office is waiting until he returns to settle the matter.

Sexual harassment on the job

Sexual harassment on the job was reported by 88 percent of 9,000 women who responded to a recent survey by *Redbook* magazine. Harassment can range from ogling and suggestive comments to open de-

mands for sex and threats of rape.

Over half the women knew someone who'd quit or been fired from a job because of the problem. Two similar studies done at Monterey, Calif., and Cornell University came up with similar results.

Without a witness, women can seldom do anything about it. Even with a witness, her only recourse is the cumbersome machinery of several federal, state and local job discrimination agencies whose procedures often take years.

Women still earn less

The gap between what men and women earn is growing, according to Labor Department figures released recently.

In 1963, the average male worker earned 68 percent more than his female counterpart. In 1974, he earned 75 percent more.

The Labor Department blames "historical patterns concerning 'men's jobs' and 'women's jobs'." Such stereotypes, it concludes, discourage women from seeking higher-paying, traditionally male jobs.

The decade covered by the Labor De-

partment study has been one where ever larger numbers of women have entered the labor force. Most new jobs have been in the traditionally female service and clerical fields. There has been little or no expansion in many higher paid, traditionally male jobs.

How to organize a union

Organize! A Working Woman's Handbook was put together by Union WAGE, a California-based working women's group. The book has lots of nitty-gritty advice on how to organize a union. "Do not surface before your initial organizing committee has done adequate research on the company (profits, general policy, existing problems, etc.), has full knowledge of your rights under the NLRB (National Labor Relations Board), and has full knowledge of what it intends to accomplish in terms of bettering existing working conditions," the authors say in a section called, "You Can Do It If You Try!"

They also describe how to start a rank and file caucus in a situation where there's a corrupt or unresponsive union. (\$2.50, Union WAGE, P.O. Box 462, Berkeley, CA 94701.)

Daughters of Sarah

A reinterpretation of St. Paul's ideas on marriage and communication between women interested in being ordained appear in *Daughters of Sarah*, a newsletter for Christian feminists. The women who write it are trying to work out the tensions between their commitments to religion and feminism. Judging from the "Letters" section, it fulfills a real need for many women isolated in small towns (as well as some who meet together in big cities). (\$2.50 for 1 year, 6 issues; *Daughters of Sarah*, 5104 N.Christiana, Chicago, IL 60625.)

Worst fears confirmed

And, finally, the *National Enquirer* confirms everyone's worst fears. "Aggressive Women's Libbers Risk Both Infertility and Early Menopause," says the headline.

The story quotes Dr. Ivor Mills, a professor of medicine at Cambridge University. Over time, he says, women who participate in women's liberation "go through a personality change and become very aggressive like the male, with an increase in testosterone (the male hormone) and a decrease in estrogen... This imbalance attacks the ovaries, stopping the production of female eggs ... thus making the woman unable to have children." ■

FOCUS ON WOMEN

Random Samples

The rising cost of sin

The Census Bureau reports that the number of men and women living together without the "benefit" of marriage has more than doubled since 1970 and now numbers more than 1.3 million, up from 654,000. Likewise, they point out that the divorce rate more than doubled between 1969 and 1975, rising from 2.3 to 4.8 per 1,000 marriages.

President Carter was recently asked his opinion about unmarried couples living together. He replied that they "were living in sin" and said that such couples ought to get married.

Commentators across the political spectrum pointed out that present tax laws make it advantageous for couples with more than one income not to get married. This led Carter to declare that he was going to change his economic stimulus tax proposals so that they would not discourage marital bliss.

Meanwhile, an Arkansas state legislator came up with his own solution to the "living in sin" problem. Rep. Arlo Tyler has introduced an anti-cohabitation bill that would impose a \$1,500 "privilege tax" on unmarried couples living together.

Couples would apply for a cohabitation license by appearing before a judge, paying the \$1,500 and registering with the county sheriff. Those failing to register would be fined \$2,000 per arrest.

For those worried about divorce, the United Methodist Church has developed an official divorce ceremony. It calls for the estranged couple to stand before the minister with the congregation present. As part of the service, the wedding band is transferred from the left to the right hand.

The Methodist National Board of Discipleship, which was responsible for putting together the ceremony, says that it is not trying to encourage divorce, but simply "recognizing that it does happen."

An hour gained is an hour lost

For what it's worth, Americans watched more TV last month than ever before.

The Television Bureau of Advertising reports that the average TV viewing time in January rose to a record seven hours and 16 minutes per day. The 1976 average was only six hours and 18 minutes.

The bureau credits the cold weather, which kept more people indoors, and the highly popular programming of the Super Bowl and the serialization of *Roots* for the increased viewing.

At the same time, the popularity of the *Roots* serials has prompted that show's producer, David Wolper, to talk about a sequel. According to Wolper, the first 12 hours of film only covered two-thirds of the book. The remaining third, bringing the story of author Alex Haley's family up to the present, could take another eight to ten hours, Wolper believes.

Wolper is confident that a sequel will be produced, but opposes making *Roots* into a weekly program.

The money machine

Xerox has introduced a new copying machine, the Xerox 6500, that is reported to be so good that it has produced a wave of counterfeiting efforts.

The *Wall Street Journal* reports that the machine, which produces full color copies, is being used to forge everything from payroll checks and stock certificates to postage stamps and bus transfers. They report that McDonald's was forced to redesign its 50¢ hamburger gift certificates because so many bogus ones were being received.

Xerox has reportedly been asked to withdraw the machine and replace it with one that makes poorer reproductions, but so far it has refused.



It's the "real" thing

Massachusetts Institute of Technology researchers are perfecting fake "fresh" fruit. The manufactured food is being designed so that it can be cut into cubes about the size of a diced pineapple. It can then be flavored, textured and colored like the real thing, and can even be molded to look like farm-grown fruit, the developers say.

The artificial fruit is made from a seaweed derivative, sugar, gelatin, pectin, artificial flavoring and coloring, plus a few vitamins. The developers say that taste panels have been unable to tell the fake from the real thing. Look for it soon, from your local foam rubber outlet.

Police vs. the Constitution

TV police and crime shows have come in for a lot of attention recently. The American Civil Liberties Union in early January said that it was launching a study of TV police shows because they appear to be undermining the basic respect American citizens have for the Constitution.

Shows like "Kojak," "Baretta," and "Starsky and Hutch" worry the ACLU because the "police heroes" on these shows, it claims, systematically violate the civil rights of suspects and witnesses. By programming these shows, the ACLU charges, the networks appear to be condoning "scores of illegal searches, seizures and interrogations."

These same shows, however, apparently have a wide audience in today's prisons. Convicted armed robber Grant Henrick, writing in *T.V. Guide*, reports that at the Marquette prison in Michigan, prisoners often take notes as they watch the programs—as a way of training for future "jobs."

Henrick quotes one prisoner as saying, "You have a lot of intelligent creative minds belonging to those Hollywood writers working for you. They keep coming up with new ideas."

Watch 'Kojak' and learn

Another group that monitors TV is now encouraging children—believe it or not—to watch the same, often violence-prone programs. Prime Time School Television will soon begin publishing lesson plans to encourage children to study closely all prime time programming.

One study guide on "Television, Police and the Law" includes an examination of police shows like "Starsky and Hutch" and "Policewoman" to see how many times police break the law or are unduly

violent.

William Singer, president of the group, says that after the police study program was tested in 33 high schools, "an increasing number of students felt that television policemen and detectives used more force than was necessary."

The group is planning other guides that will evaluate programs like "The Waltons" or "All in the Family" for studies in economics or human relations, as well as some that take a closer look at TV advertising.

Kid Power

The psychology department at Teachers College of Columbia University has found that TV advertising, particularly that addressed to children, does have an effect. It reports that it tested 41 preschoolers, three to five years old, and found they commonly pressured their mothers to purchase the same brands of cookies, cereals, candy and ice cream advertised during their favorite programs. Mother, they report, caved in as much as 61 percent of the time.

Even without pressuring their mothers, children are a very big market. A marketing professor at Ball State University in Indiana says his survey of six to 13 year olds found that the average child receives about \$1.40 in weekly allowance money from it's parents, or about \$72 a year.

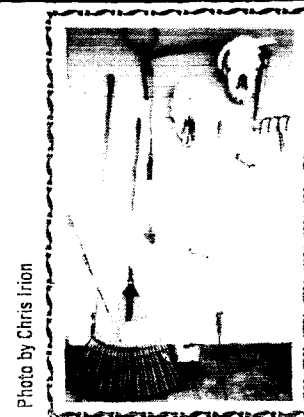
When you multiply this by the 32 million children in that age category, their collective buying power comes to \$2.33 billion per year.

Let 'em heat cake

The cold weather at the end of January shut down the Chicago schools and hundreds of factories. Working parents who were lucky enough not to be laid off had problems about where to leave their kids. At one point the city library system was also shut down and Skid Rowsters had no place to get in out of the wind.

But in the suburbs along the lake front vital services were still being delivered. The indoor tennis courts were full—heated by gas to a temperature that permitted the players to take off their warm-up suits once the preliminaries were over. Things were also comfortable at the indoor skating rinks—air warmed by gas to a point where the ice had to be cooled (by more gas).

The most curious aspect of all this is that North Shore Gas (which serves the suburbs and says it has a three-year reserve supply) in a subsidiary of People's Gas, which was turning off the taps of its commercial customers. (J.S. and H.M.)



Son of robber baron

In the late 19th century, when Upton Sinclair described Chicago's working class as living in "the Jungle," Chicago's upper classes were building stately homes in suburban Lake Forest. Here European-inspired chateaux and manor houses lined the magnificent lake front. The profits of the "jungle" built this aristocratic enclave. Now, however, tax laws and the "servant problem" have made it more difficult to sustain this lifestyle.

Accordingly, some of the descendants of the robber barons have formed the Lake Forest Foundation for Historic Preservation and have asked that this area be declared a national historic district. If they are successful, owners of the mansions will obtain some real benefits, including eligibility for state and federal funding for rehabilitation as well as government guaranteed loans under Title I of the National Housing Act.

Working class areas of Lake Forest are marked by "decidedly minor architecture not consistent with the character of the district." Federal and state funding, therefore, will be restricted to the rich.

Who says that socialism will never come to the United States? For some people it is here already.

Carsick cops

The city of Detroit, regarded as the capital of the American automobile, is encountering an embarrassing problem. It seems that a high proportion of the motor city's highway police are reporting sickness apparently caused by car exhaust fumes.

The cops complain of headaches, dizziness and other problems after patrolling the city's streets.

GE under socialism

A TV commercial for General Electric portrays Thomas Edison talking about Charles Steinmetz who developed alternating current for electricity, without which we would need power stations every two miles. Reflects Edison in the commercial, "Steinmetz was almost turned away at Ellis Island as an unfit immigrant who would never be able to support himself."

What the commercial doesn't say is that Steinmetz was a socialist and was not motivated to create his many inventions by hope of profit. His personal demands were slight. All he wanted was enough to keep going and freedom to concentrate on some of the intricate electrical problems that were still baffling him and his profession.

Nor did the commercial mention that when socialist Harry Laidler asked Steinmetz if he would have as great an incentive to work under socialism, Steinmetz replied, "Under socialism I would have even greater incentive than at present. If I invent anything now, the invention accrues immediately to the advantage of General Electric and its full benefits reach society only after a long period of time. Under socialism, anything invented could be used immediately by the entire industry and sold to the public at cost." (Newsletter of the Democratic Left.)

—compiled by Doyle Niemann from news services and other sources.

If you have interesting bits of information, revelations of wrong doing or absurdity worth mentioning, historical anecdotes you'd like to share, send them to *Random Samples*, c/o Doyle Niemann, In These Times, 1509 N. Milwaukee, Chicago, IL 60622.

IN THE WORLD

Asher Yadlin (left), Israeli Labor Party leader, escorted into court to face bribery, fraud charges.

Photo by UPI



U.S. policies ruffle Israel

Last week Secretary of State Cyrus Vance began his six-day, six-nation Mideast mission. Vance went with what is called a "listening brief"—with no specific proposals and only a ready ear. It is unlikely that any concrete discussions will begin on the Mideast until after the May Israeli elections.

Most likely to be affected by Vance's trip and by American policy pronouncements will be the Israel election contest in which Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin is being attacked, in part, for his faith in American support.

Immediately before Vance left, the State department sought to block the sale of Israeli jets with American-donated engines to Ecuador. The State department also expressed its disapproval of Israeli oil exploration in the Gulf of Suez, off land that they took from Egypt during the 1967 war.

Upon arrival, Vance sought to mollify the Israelis. He reiterated American backing for Israel's opposition to the P.L.O.'s participation in the Geneva peace talks—unless, Vance added, the P.L.O. agreed to recognize Israel's right to exist. Vance also promised Israel \$285 million more in aid than the \$1.5 billion included in Ford's budget—still less, however, than the \$2.3 billion the Israelis requested.

But on the day Vance departed, the State department announced upon his recommendation, that the U.S. would not keep Gerald Ford's election-eve promise of sending deadly concussion bombs to Israel for fear that such a move would endanger the military balance of power in the Mideast. ■

Israeli Labor Party rocked by scandal

By Leonard Helfgott

Haifa. Amidst chronic economic crisis, the Arab peace offensive, an apparent suicide of a cabinet member, and the Watergate-type exposure of a leading Labor Party figure, Israel is limping toward May 17 national elections. For the first time in the history of the state, there is a real possibility that the Labor Party leadership will be thrown out of office.

The present crisis surfaced in Dec. 1976 when the government fell censure to the Religious Parties for desecrating the Sabbath by welcoming the first three F-15 warplanes on a late Friday afternoon. Rabin forced the Religious ministers from the cabinet, resigned, and now heads a caretaker government until the May election.

There is widespread speculation that the Prime Minister created the crisis in order to move towards a speedy election. Facing a challenge from within the Labor Party by Defense Minister Shimon Peres and outside it from Professor-General-TV personality Yigdal Yadin, Rabin hoped to disarm the competition by calling for quick elections.

Two major scandals recently rocked Israeli society. The government nominee to head the Bank of Israel, Asher Yadlin, confessed last week that he had funneled kickbacks from state real estate deals and diverted funds from the Israeli labor federation's health fund into Labor Party campaign coffers.

The Minister of Housing, Abraham Ofer, apparently committed suicide last month amidst mounting public insinuations of corruption that involved the transfer of government funds into Labor Party campaigns. These scandals have heightened popular feeling that the Labor Party leadership is corrupt and ineffective and that it is time for a change.

►Hawks and dovish hawks.

This week, the Labor Party meets to nominate its candidate for prime minister in the May election. The contest will be solely between Rabin and Peres.

Within the Labor Party Peres represents the hawkish Dayan-Ben Gurion Rafi faction that is in favor of keeping the territories conquered in the 1967 war and offering nothing to the Palestinians.

Mapam, the left faction of the Labor Party, which favors a more conciliatory attitude, has threatened to leave the party if Peres is the standard-bearer. There is speculation that Mapam may leave anyway.

In the May election, either Peres or Rabin will face Yadin. Yadin is a national hero who has until now stayed out of politics. He is a college professor, ex-general and has personally elevated archeology to a national pastime. He is not tainted by connections to the Labor Party.

His Democratic Movement for Change has dealt exclusively with issues of form. It calls for streamlining the bureaucracy and election reform. Yadin has said little or nothing of substance about the economy, the Palestinians or social justice.

On the peace issue he describes himself as a dovish hawk. He is attracting dissidents from the Labor Party, the independent center parties and from the right-wing Likud party. His candidacy will most certainly hurt both the Likud and the Marakh.

►The left an insignificant force.

The left will not be able to mount any significant opposition to the politics represented by Rabin-Peres-Yadin. The Zionist left, which has favored a two-state solution, is divided and has little or no base

in Israeli society. It surfaces only during election years when it occasionally taps the positive public sentiments toward peace and social justice.

Presently there is an attempt to create a united list among the factions: Moked, the successor to the Zionist faction in the Communist Party; the Independent Socialists, formed by two mavericks who broke away from other parties; the Black Panthers; and Uri Avneri. But independent Socialist Lova Eliav, the one figure of national standing who could head the list, seems adamant about leaving politics. Marcia Freedman, holder of the other I.S. Knesset seat, will support a newly formed Woman's Party that will run a separate list of candidates.

The Communist Party, Rakah, has a social base, the Israeli Arabs. It has been the one party that has consistently represented the Arabs' civil and economic rights while maintaining a fuzzy enough position on Zionism to increase its appeal among the Israeli Arabs. The rest of the left and Mapam also have supported a program of full citizen rights for the Israeli Arabs, but their Zionism has alienated the Arabs. All indicators point to a doubling of Rakah seats in the next Knesset from four to between seven and ten.

The problem with Rakah is that at four or even ten seats it can assert little or no influence on the government. The Israeli Jews distrust it as a hard-line Moscow-dominated party (which it is). Arab support for Rakah is an effective way of isolating communism and the Arabs from the centers of decision making.

Attempts to build an independent leftist Arab party have failed, partly from Arab disunity, partly from government pressure. Rakah is totally isolated in the Knesset and the half-million Israeli Arabs

have no voice in policy making.

►New alignment possible.

It is too early to predict the election outcome. The last poll on Feb. 1 had 39 percent undecided, and the lists are not yet complete. But it is certain that the Labor Party, the right wing Likud, and the Yadin movement will be the three largest parties in the next Knesset.

Forming a government is the problem. It is possible that the religious parties will again form part of a new coalition and continue to dominate social policy beyond their actual numbers. With the popular dissatisfaction with the Labor Party, it is possible that a D.M.C.-Likud-Religious Party alignment will control the next government. Also heavily discussed in the local press is a D.M.C.-Labor Party alignment with Yadin as premier.

Whatever alignment results from the May election, several things are certain about it:

- It will oppose Palestinian statehood and refuse to recognize the existence of the Palestinian people unless heavily pressured by the U.S. and the USSR;

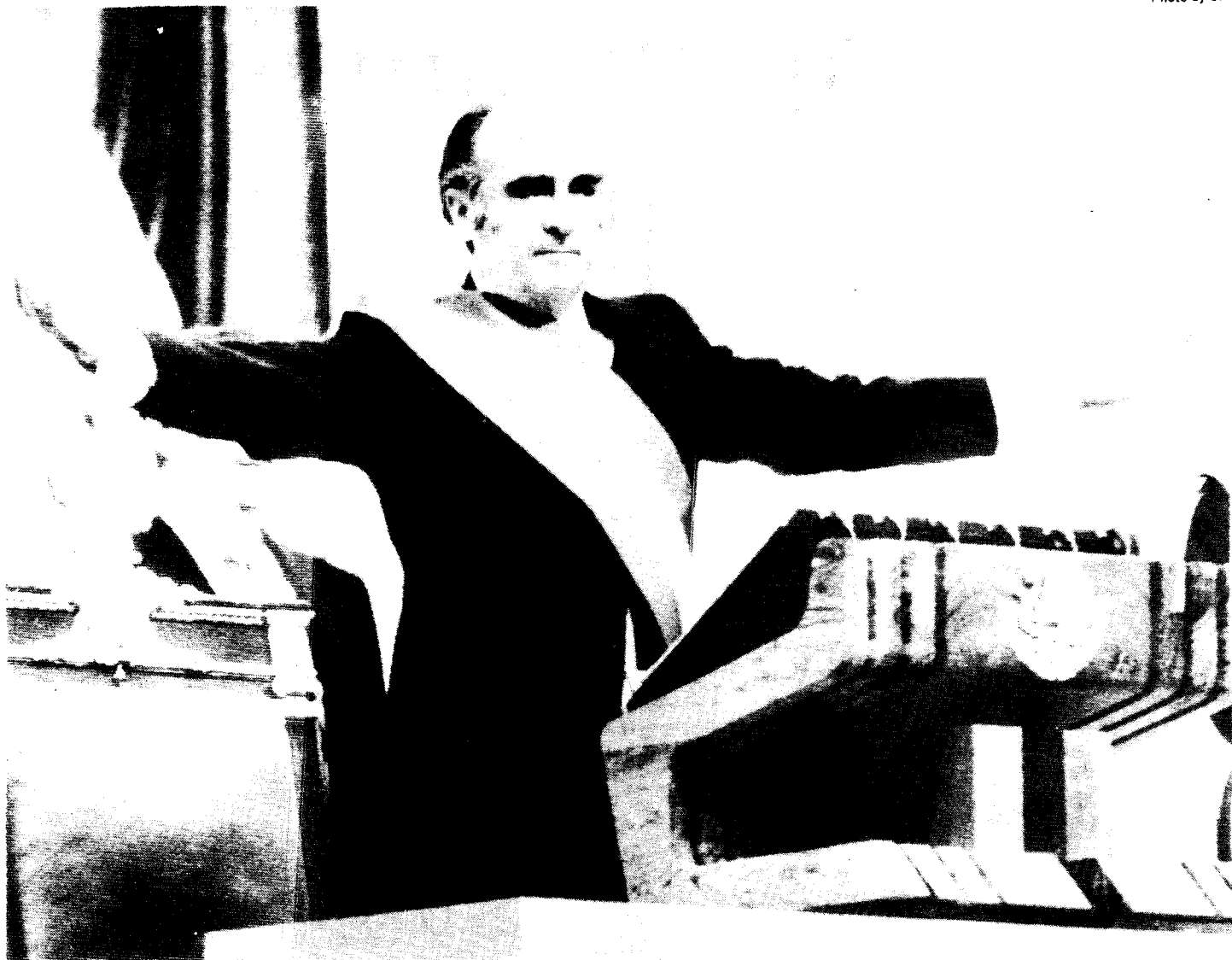
- It will continue the policy of denying Israeli Arabs full civil rights and continue to appropriate Arab land in the Galil where the Israeli Arabs form a huge majority;

- It will neither solve the problem of a 35-40 percent inflation nor equalize the inequitable tax structure;

- By excluding the left it will exclude the popular positive sentiments toward peace, social justice and socialism that are presently muted by fear of the Arabs, fear of complete economic collapse, and the particularly tragic history of the Jews under modern capitalism.

Leonard Helfgott is a visiting professor at the University of Haifa.

Photo by UPI



Mexican President Jose Lopez Portillo.

Mexico's Lopez Portillo woos U.S. dollars with carrots and stick

By Harvey Levenstein

President Jose Lopez Portillo tried a bit of the carrot-and-the-stick on Jimmy Carter during last week's meeting of the two new presidents in Washington.

The only way to head off the flood of "wetbacks" across the border, he warned, was to help Mexico through its presently troubled economic waters. That was the stick. Mexico needs fewer restrictions on its exports to the U.S. and a sympathetic ear to its requests for loans, he said.

Among the carrots was his categorical assurance to American property owners in Mexico that they need not fear nationalization.

But Lopez Portillo was not speaking only to Carter or to the assembled houses of Congress. He was also talking over their heads to Wall Street. One of the main purposes of his trip was to reassure the international financial community that he was leading Mexico back to "responsible" economics: in short, that his government will be a good credit risk.

His promise to Carter that Mexico would no longer try to maintain the peso at an artificially high level was a bow in the direction of Wall Street and the International Monetary Fund—a way of assuring them that Mexico was willing to pursue the kind of austerity at home they demand in return for their loans.

► Mexican revolution comes full turn.

For some, it would appear that the Mexican Revolution has now come full turn. The 1910 revolution led to years of wrangling with Wall Street and intervention from Washington over repayment of debts. As a result, for years it was a cardinal principle of the Mexican government to stay out of hock to Wall Street.

By the 1960s, though, this part of the revolutionary credo was being conveniently forgotten. The government of Gustavo Diaz Ordaz cashed in on Mexico's by then excellent credit rating to borrow heavily abroad to finance showcase projects like the Olympics and the Mexico City subway system.

Diaz Ordaz's successor, Luis Echeverria, made many more trips to the foreign lenders' trough. He claimed that much of his borrowing was aimed at financing the importation of technology and the creation of the kinds of sophisticated industries that would reduce Mexico's dependence on imports.

The recession of the 1970s brought Echeverria's optimistic dreams to a nightmarish conclusion. Mexico's foreign debt snow-balled to over \$20 billion, more than eight times its size when he took office. Its trade deficit soared to \$3 billion last year. Finally, just before leaving office, he bit the bullet and devalued sharply, at least sparing his successor that ignominious surrender to the international lenders.

In his first months in office, Lopez Portillo has sought to reassure Wall Street and the International Monetary Fund that he is not as unreliable as his predecessor. Echeverria's ill-conceived, politically-motivated, last minute attempt to redistribute some of Mexico's most efficient

In recent years, Mexico has discovered what appears to be at least one vast sea of oil, more than enough to restore it to the ranks of the world's major exporters.

landed estates, important dollar earners, has been scrapped.

He has appointed a cabinet heavy with the kind of young "pragmatic" technocrats Wall Street and the IMF like to see whip an economy into shape through a tough-minded program of austerity. Although by no means reactionary, it is clear that he and his governing team are willing to put reform on the back burner for at least a few years while they try to restore the confidence of the private sector.

All they need, they think, is the time and money to tide them over this difficult period. This year, they need \$1 billion to be exact, and most of this will have to come from American banks and the U.S.-dominated International Monetary Fund.

► The petroleum carrot.

Lopez Portillo will likely get his billion dollars, but not simply because Wall Street likes the cut of his technocrats' suits. In his back pocket he has another carrot: oil.

In recent years, Mexico has discovered what appears to be at least one vast sea of oil, more than enough to restore it to the ranks of the world's major exporters. Its government has been secretive about the extent of its reserves, in part because it fears American discrimination against its other exports if it joins OPEC. However, it periodically "leaks" information indicating they are indeed huge.

This is the security against which Lopez Portillo will be borrowing. It is no accident that the first \$300 million Mexico needs this year have just been loaned to Pemex, the state-owned oil monopoly.

The problem is that originally, Mexico had hoped to avoid becoming simply another exporter of crude oil to the petrochemical complexes of the First World. Much of Echeverria's borrowing was intended to build up Mexico's ability to make its own sophisticated petroleum derivatives—the things from plastic wrap to panty-hose that are as profitable as the production of crude oil itself. Now, in order to earn the dollars to pay back its enormous debt, Mexico will have to bypass its budding petrochemical complex and export as much crude as it can as quickly as it can.

It has already had a trial run. During the recent fuel crisis, supposedly in response to American distress, it began exporting a trickle of crude to the United States. It was likely a rehearsal for the flood to come.

Harvey Levenstein is a Professor of History at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.

Panama Canal

Continued from Page 3.

as a physical impediment to economic expansion. President Torrijos has announced that the Zone will be open to private industrial development once the U.S. gives up control, and his government has plans for the expansion of port and commercial activities at both the Atlantic and Pacific ends of the zone.

A boom in the tourist industry, largely controlled by American capital, is also foreseen. "If we get a new treaty and Torrijos keeps his head and maintains stability then I think investment dollars will pour in," said a Panamanian banker recently.

► A favorable investment climate.

A result of the new treaty will likely be the slow demilitarization of the Zone, which constitutes the best piece of real estate in Panama. Multinational and Panamanian capital has taken advantage of the excellent installations built up over the past 70 years by the U.S.

This investment opportunity probably explains why the Council of the Americas, which includes the main American corporations operating in Latin America, is backing the new treaty. "A renegotiation of the treaty is the best way to create a more favorable investment climate," said Henry Geyelin, president of the council.

Meanwhile, the ultra-right is using supposed violations of human rights in Panama as a basis for building opposition to the treaty in the U.S. According to the London weekly, *Latin America*, the Panamanian Committee for Human Rights operating out of Washington is in fact dedicated to proving that Torrijos is a marxist dictator and a puppet of Fidel Castro.

► Torrijos builds image on Canal.

Torrijos has built his image as a progressive populist largely on his militant

stance regarding the new treaty. His government, however, has come under increasing fire from Panamanian unions and student groups because of rising food prices, high unemployment and its wavering on the issue of the 14 U.S. military bases.

At the height of anti-government student demonstrations in September, Torrijos accused the U.S. of trying to destabilize his government and charged that American intelligence agencies were responsible for the unrest in the country. Three U.S. Army intelligence agents accused of participating in one demonstration were arrested.

More serious protests broke out in January after Torrijos modified the 1972 labor code, eliminating seniority rights and seriously weakening the right to strike. These measures were part of an economic plan to reactivate the Panamanian economy, which showed a negative growth rate last year, by offering a better deal to private business.

Worker reactions to the changes were immediate and strong. One major national union went on indefinite strike until the measures were reversed, and another

union called for the resignation of the government officials responsible. However, both the communist *Partido del Pueblo*, and the pro-government student federation described the government's pro-business measures as "tactical readjustments in the revolutionary process."

Clearly Torrijos, as well as Panamanian and international capital, have an interest in a quick agreement on the new treaty. The latest delay in the negotiations was the sudden resignation Feb. 9 of Foreign Minister Boyd in a dispute with Torrijos over the structure of Panama's negotiating team.

Sources in Panama speculated that Torrijos may have been disturbed by the personal publicity Boyd received during his 10-day trip to the U.S. Boyd, a former Panamanian ambassador to the United Nations and a member of the Panamanian aristocracy, is known to have long held presidential ambitions. But Boyd was replaced last week by Gonzales Revilla, who is also expected to be named foreign minister.

Cam Duncanteaches economics at a community college in Puerto Rico.

Should British workers also be bosses?

By Mervyn Jones

A bitter political struggle is in prospect over the Royal Commission Report on Industrial Democracy which the Labor government must seek to carry into law. It is an open secret that some powerful ministers, including Prime Minister James Callaghan, are reluctant to take action, while others, notably Industry Minister Benn, are determined to see the proposals acted on quickly.

Industrial democracy was a commitment in the 1974 election manifesto, and then Prime Minister Harold Wilson decided to refer it to the Royal Commission for study, which is the normal technique for putting an issue on ice. However, the commission produced a report in one year, record time. The man to thank for this is chairman Lord Bullock, an historian who can by no stretch of the imagination be described as radical, but who is suspicious of the power of private industry and is sympathetic to unions.

► Report favors worker equality.

Commissions normally attempt to reach unanimity, though it is not unusual for a minority report to be issued. This time, the commission was split from the outset with union members working on one report and members representing private industry working on another. All four independent members—Bullock, two other academics, and one lawyer—lined up with the unions to produce what became the majority report.

Three industry members produced the minority report, which advocates supervisory boards on which workers would be represented. Existing management would retain final decision-making powers and responsibilities.

The majority report says that democracy should be introduced into companies employing over 2,000 workers. This would include the giants of British capitalism such as Imperial Chemicals, auto firms, heavy engineering, textiles and banks. The commission's report did not



A Royal Commission Report has recommended that workers and shareholders have equal representation on corporate boards. The report has sparked a bitter political struggle.

"Don't you say Bullock to me!"

cover state-owned industry, but the minister receiving the report said that any legislation would also cover such enterprises, which include coal, electricity, gas and railroads.

The report provides that the first step in any company would be to ask the employees to vote by secret ballot on whether they want the new system, since any democracy without worker demand would prove moribund.

The new boards would possess the full powers of management, and would replace existing boards of directors. There would be parity between members elected by share holders and those representing workers. To avoid a deadlock, the workers and share holders would add several members, presumably accountants or technicians with special expertise, who would be fewer than a third of the total membership.

It was strongly recommended, though not mandatory, that worker representatives be actual employees of the company, who would continue normal jobs and receive no payment beyond normal wages.

► "Bloody chaos" predicted.

The method of electing or selecting the worker-directors was deliberately left flexible and may differ in various companies. But the commission says that the method should be built on the trade union machinery and declares that it is impractical to contemplate any system that does not have the support of the trade union movement.

It is envisaged that the directors would be drawn from shop stewards, who are the trusted spokespersons of workers under existing machinery. Jack Jones, Trans-

port and General Leader and commission member, pointed out in an article last week, "The unions provide the expertise and the independent strength necessary to enable worker-directors to play an effective role on the board."

The opponents of the majority report, including most of the press, fasten on this proposed use of union machinery to discredit the scheme. They claim to favor an elective system in which unions would play no part. The *London Times*, for instance, declared that the plan is not for democracy but for syndio-anarchy. These attacks are in line with the current propaganda charging that unions have excessive power and that the 12 powerful union chiefs are dictating to the government and running the country. They also raise the question of the rights of workers or office staff who do not belong to unions; but all large companies have closed shops or at least 90 percent union membership.

There have been loud cries of protest from the three commission members who drew up the minority report. One says that the majority scheme would produce "bloody chaos," while another predicts "a devastating effect on management."

The Confederation of British Industry has announced root and branch opposition. Tory spokesmen in Parliament have pledged an all-out fight against any bill. The Trade Unions Congress meanwhile demands legislation within one year. Callaghan apparently intends to frame legislation this summer after consultations. In view of the shortage of parliamentary time and the difficulties of the Scotland and Wales problem, it could not go through Parliament in the current session that ends in October.

Certainly his inclination is to go slow and defer the battle. Real action will strengthen Tory determination to oust the Labor government and force an election. They sense a grave threat to capitalism as it has traditionally functioned.

Mervyn Jones has worked as assistant editor of the *London Times* and the *New Statesman*. He has recently published a book on Britain's offshore oil industry.

Sevareid's England sinks into the North Sea

By Joseph Conlin

Coventry, England. The obvious can be granted. Great Britain has her troubles. But there is a big difference between the way these are perceived in the U.S. and how they stack up over here. It's a difference worth knowing because the American version is a con.

The American version of England's problems is summed up in the topical cracks about her "sinking into the North Sea" and that sort of thing. If you close your eyes and chant your mantra, you can almost hear Eric Sevareid... "There won't always be an England after all, and more's the pity."

Who knows how this translates into images in people's minds? Do they see sturdy young men refusing to work and keeling over in the gutter from hunger? Or surly throngs, sapped of their morals by free medical care, demanding "more! more!?"

► The pubs are still friendly.

In fact, folks over here are bustling about their assorted News, Closes, and High Streets as if there will be a tomorrow after all. Proportionately, more people have jobs than in the States. When you see people in tattered clothes, they are more likely students or other fops than beggars.

The prams are as sleek and as glossy as they looked in old RKO travelogues. On a daily basis, the cops are still incredibly decent and unthreatening by American or any other national standard. And the pubs are still "friendly."

A couple of months ago, some fatuous think-tank released the results of a poll to the effect that the English were "the hap-

piest people in the world." If such twaddle is to be taken seriously enough to be mentioned, it ought to be added that you can't disprove it just by looking around.

None of this Merrie England business means that the English are oblivious of their problems. They get plenty of attention. Another rocky day for the Pound

sections of British industry, rather than "the people," "the society," "this scept'd isle, this England."

In the American press, on the other hand, it is verily "this England" that is floundering, from Pennines, moors, Warwick Castle, and Beefeaters to—and this is the crux of it—the welfare state.

In the American press, it is verily "this England" that is floundering, from Pennines, moors, Warwick Castle, and Beefeaters to — and this is the crux of it — the welfare state.

means a quarter-page block of headline type in the newspapers. The Tory leader Mrs. Thatcher sounds like a bilious millenarian on the subject. The Labour Prime Minister Mr. Callaghan sounds like a Tory leader.

In the pubs, if you press the subject, less august statesmen will regale you with their theories of from whence Albion came to this pass, and the truth is, the "typical British workman" knows more about the esoterica of currency than his American counterpart.

► A campaign against the welfare state.

But there is that important difference between the anxieties on this side of the ocean and the solicitous apprehensions of the American press. In England, with the exception of the shrillest right wingers, they worry about problems like sterling, Scottish independence, the Common Market, and the obsolete equipment in many

There is a serious political campaign underway here. It is an aggressive attack on the life of the English welfare state by a Conservative Party that is not, as Americans sometimes like to think, a slightly dotty, well-meaning, and well-mannered collection of harmless old blimps.

On the contrary, the Tories are kissing cousins of American Right-wing Republicans. They are increasingly a party of a narrow Pounds-and-Pence self-interest.

Tory leader Mrs. Thatcher's signal contribution to modern British history was, as Minister of Education in 1971, the elimination of free milk in the tax-supported schools. It is her sole contribution, that is, if her nostalgia for the gallows, whipping post, and whiff of grapeshot are discounted.

In England, as in the U.S., the right phrases its case in homilies about the spirit of the people and the vitality of the nation. They call on Nobel Laureate eco-

nomists and pipe-smoking sociologists to attribute England's deterioration to cradle-to-grave welfare programs.

Gunnar Myrdal lost his temper recently when an American reporter suggested that frustration created by the welfare state was the key to the defeat of the Swedish socialists in last fall's general elections. "This is a fantastic lie," he said. "Why in hell should the protection of your life from economic disasters and from bad health, opening education for young people, pensions for old people, nursing care for children—why should that make you frustrated?"

Liberal American journalists would agree with that, when it is put so bluntly. Surely those of their readers whose politics look toward a more humane American society would lodge no objection. But the journalists have bought precisely the slick line that angered Myrdal—a decrepit right-wing line—and have transmitted it to the United States as "the news."

In any event, there are problems in England all right. Some of them are not even reported in the U.S., like the enduring and quite wretched urban poverty that requires more "social programs," not fewer. But the discomfiture of the speculator who holds two millions sinking Pounds Sterling in his Lloyd's of London account ought not to be confused with the "soul of the English people." Nor the partisan argument of a political right with "the news."

Joseph Conlin is a visiting professor at the Centre for the Study of Social History at the University of Warwick.

There seems to be general agreement that the TV showing of *Roots* constitutes a "happening." But there is no agreement on precisely what happened, to whom, and why?

Were blacks and whites moved to the same degree? In the same or opposite directions? Was the TV version a vulgarization of Alex Haley's book, or a supremely successful promotion of it? When 3,000 teenagers line up at a book-store in hopes of getting Haley's autograph, what draws them? the story of his forebears before and after enslavement; or the writer himself, a man totally engaged in the search for a past to remember.

In *These Times* presents a selection of particular views of the "Eight Days That Shook the World," and some suggestions for those who want to continue where *Roots* left off.

1 For the first time, a mass audience has been exposed to part of the Afro-American experience in this country: the reality of slavery and the beginnings in Africa.

Roots has its literary, dramatic and historical weaknesses. But to emphasize them is to ignore the very important cultural significance of both the book and the television drama. For the first time, a mass audience (white as well as black) has learned something of what it meant to be an enslaved African in colonial Virginia. For the first time, the popular media has revealed to ordinary Americans that the Afro-American experience begins in Africa, not in places like Virginia and South Carolina. That strikes at the popular and even academic myth that the Afro-American experience rests on an imitative and "deficit" culture.

One important limitation in the television adaptation—as in the book—is that Alex Haley deals mostly with "privileged" slaves, such as house servants and artisans. The great majority of slaves, of course, were ordinary field hands. That is not an error. Haley, after all, is telling the story of his own forebears. But readers and viewer alike should realize that *Roots* details only a small part of the Afro-American experience. Much remains to be told and retold. *Roots* is just the beginning of that reexamination.

—Herbert G. Gutman

Herbert G. Gutman is the author of *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom* (See in *These Times*, Feb. 2).

Many viewers of the TV version of *Roots* have complained of what was left out in the adaptation of Haley's book. Obviously, no series of eight programs could cover the entire subject matter that is involved here. Neither can a book about one man's search for his family's roots. For readers who may want to add to the coverage either of the book or the TV program, IN *THESE TIMES* offers a very brief list of suggested reading.

In the cases where a paperback version is available, that fact is noted. In the case of books now out of print (and many of these are), most are available in public libraries.

Primary Sources

The Life of Frederick Douglass, paperback. There are many versions of this classic work which Douglass revised and elaborated throughout his life. The first is the shortest, and in many ways the best to read.

The Underground Railroad, by William Still, reprints by Arno Press and Ebony Classics. This is a collection of the first-hand accounts of slavery and escapes by those blacks who made it safely as far as the doors of the Antislavery Society of Philadelphia, edited by the man in charge of that office. *American Slavery As It Is*, ed. Theodore Weld, reprint by Arno Press. One of the leading Abolitionists collected and edited first-hand accounts of slavery in the 19th century, by blacks and whites who

HOW DEEP DID ROOTS DIG?



had experience of it, and through newspaper stories and advertisements from Southern journals—mostly concerning runaways.

The Journal of a Residence on a Georgia Plantation, by Frances Ann Kemble, reprint by A.A. Knopf. Fanny Kemble was a famous British actress who married an American slaveowner and spent one year (1838-9) on his Sea Island plantations. Hers was the first published description of the "peculiar institution" by an eye-witness who was horrified by it. Its publication in England at the time of the debate in Parliament over the Confederate loan was considered to have aided in defeating that measure.

Denmark Vesey, ed. Robert S. Starobin. An account of one of the important early slave revolts (Charleston, S.C.) from the documents used in trying the "conspirators."

2 Haley writes the balance of recent histories: benevolent slaveholders could be as brutal as Simon Legree if slaves presumed to assert human rights.

In the *New York Times* "op-ed" page of Aug. 30, 1976, David H. Donald, professor of Southern history at Johns Hopkins University, wrote of "The Southernization of America." Referring specifically to the writing of American history, he pointed out that probably the five most important books published on American history during the past three years were all studies of slavery.

But it was not simply the outpouring of major works on slavery that impressed Prof. Donald. It was, he said, "their tone, for they portray slaveholders as basically benevolent and patriarchal, praise the cultural achievements of blacks under adversity, and conclude that the Old South was a region of astonishing efficiency and prosperity. Somewhere the ghost of John C. Calhoun must be grimly smiling at this belated national acceptance of his views of Southern superiority." In short, what we have is a picture of slavery as essentially a benign institution—a variation on the theme of the historical school of apologists for slavery that flourished earlier in this century.

►A different view.

But the largest television audience in the history of the medium—80 million Americans—saw a much different view of slavery in the episodes of *Roots*, the dramatization of a black family's life during the American slavery era. What they saw was much closer to the truth about slavery than the studies hailed by Professor Donald.

The viewers saw for themselves that slavery was an institution in which even the so-called "benevolent and patriarchal" slaveholder could be as brutal as Simon Legree when he felt it necessary to assert his authority over the slaves; that American slavery was an institution under which the slaveowner had absolute, unlimited power to do as he wished with his slaves, and that there was little or nothing a slave could do to protect himself or herself; and that even the "favored" slaves were quickly put on a level with the lowest field hands if they presumed to assert their rights as human beings.

Television viewers also saw and heard whites openly express the view that blacks were hardly human, that the white slaveowners were actually doing them a favor by taking them away from a "savage, barbaric continent"—Africa—and introducing them, through slavery, to civilization. And this was not fiction. In sentencing slaves charged with conspiring to overthrow slavery in the so-called Negro plot of 1741 in New York City, the court declared that "the monstrous ingratitude of this black tribe, is what exceedingly aggravates their guilt."

As late as 1911, a leading scholar declared at a meeting of the Lancaster, Pa., Historical Society:

HOW DEEP DID ROOTS DIG?

"When snatched from his native land in the wilds of Africa, he was a semi-barbarian, born and living in the crudest form of human existence, without any trace of training or civilization, no form of government deserving of the name, a prey to stronger tribes and wild animals, and often famine and disease were his unhappy lot; any existence anywhere would seem to be a happy change from this condition, even viewed from a purely animal standard, to say nothing of a humanitarian or Christian viewpoint."

For many, many years, millions of Americans (including, unfortunately, black Americans) were led to believe this about Africa. While *Roots* did not give us a picture of the scientific, artistic, and cultural accomplishments of Africans, it did provide a dramatic contrast between the moral values of the peaceful African village, with its emphasis on the sanctity of life, and the horrors and brutality of the so-called "civilizers," e.g. the kind of callousness toward black human beings that Kunta Kinte was forced to endure after his capture and enslavement.

►Historical inaccuracies.

Of course, there are historical inaccuracies in *Roots*. For example, the role of Africans in the slave trade was presented in a confusing manner: Nat Turner's revolt occurred in 1831, not 1841; cotton was not grown in Virginia; and the segments dealing with the Civil War and Reconstruction failed to portray the real role of blacks during those years. (After all, 200,000 blacks fought in the Union Army, and most of them were slaves.) But the errors are of little consequence compared with the all-important fact that, to my knowledge, this is the first time white Americans have been able to see that while white immigrants from Europe were forced to endure poverty, exploitation and humiliation—none had to endure the gross cruelty inflicted upon blacks.

Roots gives the definitive and telling answer to those whites who ask why blacks have not been able to achieve the cultural and social stability that they—the whites—did. After all, they argue, didn't their forebears come to this country practically penniless and ignorant of the language?

What they fail to understand—and what *Roots* makes so painfully clear—is that the white immigrants came to this country of their own free will, and, in nearly every case, with their families intact, the blacks on the other hand were as one letter writer to the *New York Times* points out, "torn from their families, shackled and exported against their will. In America, they became chattel slaves, items of property, like cattle, from which the term chattel is derived." No white immigrant mother had to crawl on her feet before a "paternalistic" slaveowner and plead with him, on the ground of her faithful service of 40 years, not to sell her daughter away from her family!

I have two suggestions. If the series is repeated on TV, it should not be hailed as "The Triumph of an American Family," but rather as what it was: "The Survival of an American Family." Secondly, how about a series on what it meant to be a

free black in America during the era of slavery?

We caught a glimpse of this in the order to "Chicken George" to leave his slave family within 60 days after he had purchased his freedom. But that is only a glimpse. The full story would round out the reality of life for black Americans under slavery.

—Philip S. Foner

Philip S. Foner teaches history at Lincoln University, and is the author of *History of Black Americans: Volume I, From Africa to the Emergence of the Cotton Kingdom; Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass* (5 vols.).

A list of fiction titles is included for those who prefer to read history in that form. The books included are all based on careful historical research, and the source is noted.

A few oral histories and particularly interesting historical essays are included in another list.

Fiction

Jubilee, by Margaret Walker. The novelized account of her grandparents' trek across the South after emancipation, looking for land to settle and farm.

The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman, by Ernest G. Gaines. Bantam paperback. The book from which the excellent TV drama, starring Cicely Tyson, was adapted.

Sisters and Brothers, by Janet Stevenson. Crown. A novel about the Grimké family, white-Absolutionist, and black freedmen. The material about slavery is adapted from Archibald Grimké's diary, dictated in old age to his daughter, Angelina Weld Grimké.

The Confessions of Nat Turner, William Styron. Random House. A fictionalized account of the first important slave rebellion in the South.

Histories

Puttin' on Ole Massa, by Gilbert Osofsky. This is a collection of three fugitive slave stories. There are other similar collections that have more and different stories, but none is better. Most of the material comes from the primary source, *The Underground Railroad*.

Lay My Burden Down, ed. B.A. Botkin. Interviews conducted in the 1930s with men and women born in slavery. Made possible by the WPA Writers' Program, it is one of the first and best examples of oral history in the U.S.

Black Folk, Then and Now, by W.E.B. Du Bois, Henry Holt. "The history and sociology of the Negro" by the great black scholar; first published in 1939, it still is the best source for the background and total picture of the African slave trade and what it meant in the world picture of capitalism.

The Negro in the Civil War, by Benjamin Quarles, Little, Brown. A ground-breaking study by a black historian of the extent and importance of the participation of black soldiers in the war they saw as one of liberation.

A Documentary History of Slavery, by Willie Lee Rose. An excellent compilation of source material, available in paperback.

All God's Dangers: the Life of Nate Shaw, by Theodore Rosengarten. Paperback. This is a contemporary oral history. Nate Shaw (Ned Cobb) was a leader in the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union in its early struggles. The life described is startlingly similar to accounts of life under slavery but with significant differences.

3 Prisoners elected to see *Roots*. Some pretty extreme opinions: white bigot saw his prejudices confirmed

The following is an interview conducted by IN THESE TIMES with a counselor in a state prison. He has requested that his name, the name of the prison, and the names of the inmates he quoted be deleted, since the opinions were given in confidence and their publication, if traced, might have unpleasant consequences.

The prison population divides roughly into thirds: 30 percent black, 30 percent latino, and 40 percent white. It is a maximum security facility. Each tier of each building in the prison compound has a TV room, to which all inmates (except those being punished "in segregation") have access. Each tier decides what channel will be tuned on a given night. They vote once a week, but "it's not exactly a democratic process; more of a power play."



Janice Wilson: "Where'd they get the idea they were so great?"

All tiers of all buildings chose to watch *Roots* for the entire eight episodes. "Usually the TV rooms are noisy, crazy places where people are hooting and howling, throwing things, perhaps fighting. A lot of people don't even like to go to the TV room because it's rough, dangerous and usually fairly unpleasant."

"During *Roots* things were unusually quiet. People were attentive to what was happening on the screen. It was quiet not just because of the interest in the show. There was a feeling that there was the possibility of some racial violence. (This is my interpretation.) Things have been hot in this prison for the last few weeks."

Asked if the tension had anything to do with the showing of *Roots*, he said no. "It's just that if there are racial feelings running high, *Roots* is an opportunity to get down to it and fight. But people didn't do that."

"There were some pretty extreme opinions among people I talked to afterwards."

"One was from a guy who has no use for blacks at all. He said *Roots* just confirmed what he always knew—that 'niggers' have to be told what to do; they're really not human beings at all. You can sometimes teach a nigger to do something, but they'll fuck up on you anyway, sooner or later."

"He was serious. I know a little about his background from other talks: his parents had this kind of attitude towards blacks. And most of the blacks he's had anything to do with in his life, he was competing with for jobs or fighting against in prison."

"I heard an interesting report about this same guy from another man. It seems he was there every night, watching. Sitting right in the middle of the front row. And there were always blacks right behind him, sitting there with one eye on the tube and the other on the back of this guy's head. I think they were really ready to jump on him because they know where this guy is coming from. But he never made a peep."

"The other extreme opinion is from a black man who has a history of sort of Panther violence. He's mellowed out a lot, but I was really surprised at how he reacted. He thought seeing *Roots* might upset people for a while, but when they're done being upset, they might take a good hard look at our history, and it might be a good thing."

"Another thing he talked about was the effect it had on his wife and child. He's always thought of his wife as racially naive: she always had white friends and she was never into racial politics or fighting or such things. And she was shocked by *Roots*. She reported to him that their kid—an 11-year-old daughter—was really

taken with it. The kid was glued to the TV for a solid week. Whenever Mom would doze off, the kid would wake her up and make her listen."

"I think that's interesting because the father had always been involved in these struggles, but it took *Roots* to shake up his family."

"Incidentally, this man's favorite character was the ship captain. He said not only did he act very well, but 'You know that's probably how it was. He didn't set out to do evil things; he was just plugged into it. You know, doing his job, and he just slid into this whole process.'"

Asked if anyone in the prison had read the book before seeing the film, the counselor said he believed not. "Most of these men just don't read. Or at the most, nothing harder to get through than *Hustler*."

Were any of the white inmates shaken in any way? moved emotionally, or made to feel guilty? "These men have killed people. They don't feel guilt for what they do themselves, so they certainly wouldn't feel it for what their great-great-grandfathers did."

4 Most of it's absolutely true, but it ignores 5½ million whites who owned no slaves and were manipulated by the rich into dying to defend slavery.

Deep South all her life, is descended from slave-owning forebears, and has been a consistent and courageous activist on behalf of civil rights says:

"I thought *Roots* was a powerful, marvelous production. Most of it's absolutely true. Slavery was a horrible institution and it's good that it was shown to be that on the TV."

"If I have a reservation, it's that this doesn't give a true picture of the white South. Just take into consideration a few statistics: there were 10 million people in what was considered the South at the time of the Civil War. Six million whites; four million blacks, most of them slaves. Of the six million whites, 300,000 owned one or more slaves. About 50,000 owned enough land and enough slaves to qualify as plantation owners."

"Now this film simply ignores the five and a half million whites that didn't own



William Scott: "Even if it brings another Civil War..."

In These Times photo by Jane Melnick

any slaves. They were part of the South; they interacted with slaves and slaveholders. Some of them were driven off the good, fertile land by the big planters—up into the hill counties where it was almost impossible to make a living—and they showed how they felt at the time of the Secession. There were counties that seceded from the Confederacy. They were in rebellion all through the Civil War, and they've voted Republican ever since. Or at least until Franklin Roosevelt's time. Men like Judge Frank Johnson (one of the three judge federal panel that reversed the decision that ended the Montgomery Bus Boycott) come from that part of the South. There's no indication of anything like that in the TV picture.

Another problem the film doesn't address is how the others—the whites who didn't have slaves, but didn't resist the rule of the slave-owners—how they were manipulated into going to war and dying to defend the rich people's property. The blacks were managed by sheer terror, but it wasn't just that with the whites. It was

economic power, of course, but how was it applied? It's really one of the most interesting historical questions: how so many absolutely helpless people could be controlled by such a small handful of "rulers."

Asked what the effect of the TV show has been in her community, she said there had been no very dramatic effect one way or the other. Lots of letters to the newspapers, some of them angry, some very pleased. "I heard of one white teacher who has an all-black class in one of the grammar schools. When they came in on the Monday after the last episode, some of the children started to tease and call her by one of the bad names in the picture, 'Two Bob' or something like that. She just said, 'If you call me names, I'll cut your toes off.' The children laughed and that was the end of it."

In sum: "I think it's good that so many blacks have discovered their roots. But mine aren't in this film. My grandfather owned 35,000 acres and over 100 slaves, and I know he wasn't the sadistic monster slave-owner I saw in this picture."

5 Students' view of whites in *Roots*, "too generous, forgiving."

Teacher tells class: housing projects are modern version of plantation 'quarters'.

In high school classes across the U.S., students discussed *Roots* as the story unfolded on TV. *Scholastic Magazine* prepared a study guide and other curriculum materials were available. IN THESE TIMES asked some Chicago area teachers how the classes went.

Miss Brody, who teaches Ethnic Studies and American History at Marie Curie High, said most of the students reacted "very favorably." Curie is located in a working-class, southwest section of Chicago.

The blacks, who are 17 percent of the students at Curie, "seemed to be proud."

"They felt relieved to hear it told on national TV, to talk about the anger and frustration and desires of black people," says Brody. The white students were "mostly surprised, awed, and enjoyed the story." A few were "a little turned off" by the negative portraits of whites.

Like many students across the U.S., Brody's are tracing their own family trees as a class assignment. She says she's getting good results from other minority group students, as well as from blacks. "The students seem to like trying to find a collective memory," she says.

The Chicago press had reported that fights broke out at Curie between black and white students as a result of *Roots* being shown.

Brody doesn't think that had anything to do with it. She blames "a very small minority of white students who are influenced by the Nazi Party" for the disturbance, and points out that the fights began the Friday before the first *Roots* episode was aired. "*Roots* is a handy scapegoat right now," she says.

►A sense of identity.

Wendell Phillips High School, located on Chicago's South Side, is "99.9 percent black" according to William Scott, head of social studies. He invited IN THESE TIMES to observe a class discussion of *Roots*.

The students in this discussion were drawn from humanities, political science and Afro-American history classes. All liked the program. Only one student said it shouldn't have been shown because she feared it might lead to fights among blacks and whites like the one reported at Curie.

"It gives black people a sense of identity to know who our forefathers were, which gives a sense of who we are," said Don Thomas.

"I liked it because it showed how blacks were really treated, how one man didn't want to be a slave and kept trying to escape," said another student.

One mentioned she liked *Roots* because it expressed the pride blacks feel for their heritage; another mentioned the positive view *Roots* gave of the black family.

One student felt drawn to the program by what he'd heard about the author, Alex Haley. "I know he did a lot of hard work to backtrack, to find out where he came from. I really admire the man for that," he said.

Angela Taylor thought it was "OK for TV," but felt that *Roots* "didn't really bring out the hard core of what happened" to black people under slavery. She believes the reaction to *Roots* among whites and blacks was more interesting than the show itself.

Some students were angry. "Where did they get that notion that they were so much better than us?" asked Janice Wilson. "Some people still hold that today. We're all human beings; color has nothing to do with it."

Several students commented that what *Roots* showed was the past. "I don't think it's right for blacks to hold anything

against the whites in the present," said one. "If you're going to condemn them for what their ancestors did, you would have to seek out the right ones. In the North, there were whites who helped blacks to come up out of slavery; you'd have to thank them."

►Too generous.

"That was a theme that ran through most of your papers," William Scott said to his class. "You were almost too generous: 'that all happened in the past, let's let bygones be bygones.'"

He asked students to consider the possible parallel between blacks being confined to plantations under slavery and to housing projects today. "Is public housing nothing more than an updated version of the old plantation life?" he asked. "The situation, crime-wise—is that not even more horrendous than the chopping off of part of Kunta Kinte's foot?"

Why was Kizzy's reading and writing a crime that led to her being sold into slavery, he asked the class at another point.

"Just like now," a student answered. "Black people then were not supposed to be more than what whites expected of them, working in the cotton fields, fixing their food and waiting on them hand and foot."

Scott asked the class if high schools that graduate black non-readers might not be "a more sophisticated version of what came down before."

The discussion then turned to why black students sometimes choose not to be educated. Some blamed the students. Others felt black students don't receive enough encouragement, and blamed "black movies, that make some of these people want to be cool, like the pimps."

The students were divided about whether they'd like to see a *Roots*, Part II. Many said they were looking forward to a sequel. Some felt the second part might have a good effect on white attitudes towards blacks; others believed it would stir up racial controversy.

Scott reminded them how such decisions are made.

"Even though there might be concern as to whether *Roots* could set back racial relations, now that 135 million people have watched Part I, because of the commercial advantages—financial profitability for ABC," he said, drawing a large dollar sign on the black board, "*Roots II* will arrive, even if it precipitates another Civil War."

►Less important for whites.

For students at two high-income, suburban schools, the showing of *Roots* seems to have been a less important event, but some classes did study it.

Joe Occhipinti teaches social studies and African history at Lake Forest High (mostly white). "I don't think it made a big difference to the students," he says. "They make a separation between what happened before and what is, now. They liked the show in terms of dramatic effects."

"The first episode, showing how things were in Africa, was their favorite. But there's this 'I didn't do it to you' theme in their reactions," he says.

Judith Nordblum felt her all-white freshman class at New Trier East "generally became a little more sensitive to problems people have when they're not free, and to problems of people with a different skin color."

She pointed out that her students have had little contact with blacks.

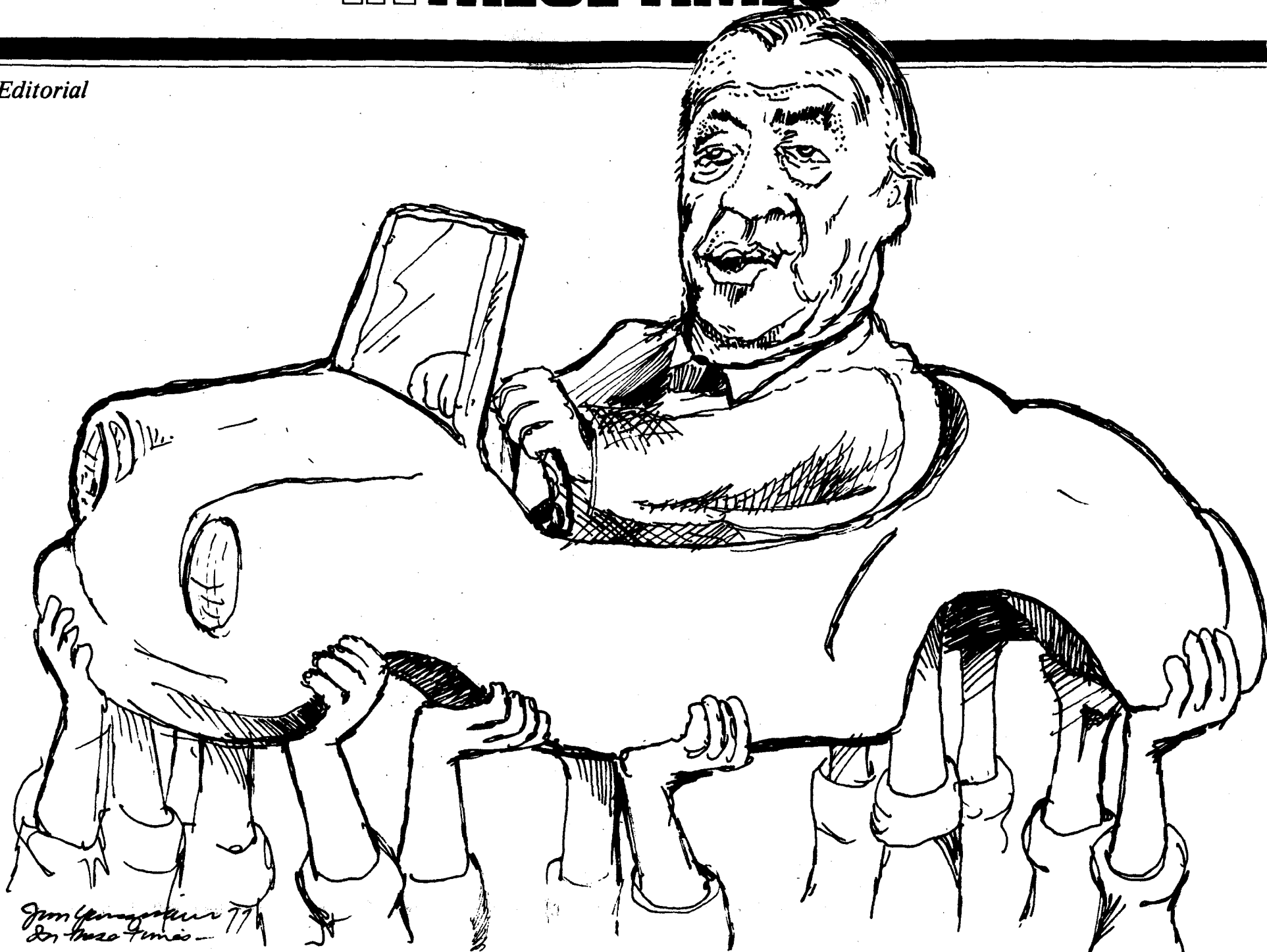
"They felt it was a good thing it was on TV. They were upset by conditions on the slave ship, and by Kunta's foot being cut off," she says. A few felt the portrait of whites was stereotypical, but others made comments that indicated they felt guilty over the past.

Nordblum felt that her students, who come from backgrounds and go to schools that place a great value on education, "found it hard to understand how people could be both smart and uneducated."

"The most important question for them was freedom. They decided you're happier knowing who you are, with a sense of your past and pride in yourself." If there was no possibility of escaping slavery, her students decided, it was better to rebel and pass on the story of the past.

IN THESE TIMES

Editorial



What has it done for us lately?

In 1914 Henry Ford, 1st, instituted an eight-hour day on his assembly line in Detroit and paid a \$5-a-day wage to the workers in his plant. This was a startling innovation in an age when most industrial workers still worked a 55-hour week—in the steel industry, for example, the 12-hour day would still be prevalent for another nine years, until 1923—and when \$3 a day was “good” money for factory workers.

Widely billed as “Ford versus Marx” in the press, Ford instituted his reform to head off a union organizing drive at his plant and also to reduce the high rate of labor turnover that his new assembly line production had caused. It worked. From then on, Ford always had a ready supply of workers—and his company was the last of the major auto manufacturers to be unionized. Not until the bloody organizing drive of 1941 did the United Automobile Workers win a contract at Ford.

But Ford’s significance went far beyond his success in keeping out the union. His new mass production techniques revolutionized industrial production, and his brand of “welfare capitalism” was an effective, though not too benevolent, antidote to unionists and socialists for many years. Henry the First, his company and his industry epitomized the strength and vitality of American capitalism in the age of U.S. world predominance.

Last month, Henry Ford, 2nd (Henry 1st’s grandson) resigned as a trustee of his family’s foundation and complained that its staff often failed to appreciate the capitalist system that provided the money the foundation gives away. A few weeks later, on Feb. 12, he told the *New York Times* that the days of “high, wide and handsome” economic growth are probably over for the U.S., that big business has to come clean and admit its faults to the

public if it hopes to repair its “severely damaged credibility” with the public, and, indeed, that he believed that “the capitalistic system is on trial in the United States.”

In his view, the relatively high standard of living that Americans enjoy is a product of corporate capitalism. Even though the days of growth may be over, and though we may have to move backward in some areas where we have recently been “just outliving our means,” nevertheless, Americans should understand where the good things have come from and should be loyal to the system for what it has done in the past.

In rejecting Henry 2nd’s plea, there is no need to deny corporate capitalism’s real achievements in this country, or to question his personal integrity. American capitalism, despite its history of violence and brutality and the gross inequalities of its rewards, has been most successful in its own terms. And the United States, despite the exclusion of large sections of the population from meaningful participation in its political life, has the most highly developed democratic ideals and the fewest restrictions on democratic liberties among the world’s major powers. Henry 2nd, himself, has been among the more enlightened members of our ruling class. Indeed, at the age of 27, in 1944, when he took control of his family’s business, his first act was to oust Harry Bennett, a Ford executive who, even the *New York Times* admits, had “ruled by terror,” which, by the late 1930s, he needed to do to keep the union out.

But a social system must be measured by how it performs in the present and by what its potential is for the future. American capitalism, though it has created the capacity to produce an abundance that

few dared even to dream of a century ago, is unable to deliver on its promise.

Quite the opposite. In a society with a high percentage of unused capacity in manufacturing and constant worries about overproduction in agriculture, there is still the highest rate of unemployment in 40 years (higher by far than that of any European nation), constant deterioration of all public services—education, public health care, public transit, postal service—and, the final indignity in the face of under-utilized capacity, chronic inflation.

The best that Ford, or any of our enlightened corporate-liberal leaders can offer is that we have been “outliving our means,” and that we must be prepared to retrench and tighten our belts. “I’m very fearful that we might be headed down the socialistic road,” Henry 2nd said—adding that in his opinion “that would be bad.” But he offered little hope that the vast productive capacity that we now have—the ability to produce an abundance of manufactured and agricultural goods—can be utilized within the framework of the profit system. And indeed it cannot, though no one would deny that both the need and the technical capacity exist.

Six decades ago, and even during the 1930s, there was still room for the extension of profitable investment and for the expansion of the working class. American industry was predominant in the world, threatened only by Germany. Domestic markets still had great potential as large sectors of the population were being integrated more fully and directly into the capitalist market. The majority of blacks, for example, were still to be driven off the land where they live at a largely subsistence level. Today, in a world capitalist economy that is expanding more slowly, the U.S. has competitors wher-

ever it turns, while at home the vast expansion of consumer markets that characterized the post-World War II years has reached saturation.

More important, the working class itself has been transformed in the past sixty-odd years and no longer need adjust to depression or be satisfied by the struggle to organize itself. On the one hand, it is much more fully integrated into the market and has lost the capacity to go back to the farm or back home to Europe, as many workers could and did do in past depressions. Relatively few workers today are first generation immigrants; 93 percent of the population are now urban dwellers.

On the other hand, the working class is much more highly organized and is less divided along ethnic or sex lines. Blacks have been fully urbanized, are an important part of the workforce in all major manufacturing industries, and are a substantial part of the trade union movement. Women, also, are more and more fully engaged in the full-time work force. And the unions, which in Henry 1st’s day were still struggling to stabilize their existence, are a permanent feature in American life and increasingly reach into all areas of work, industrial and non-industrial.

All sectors of the population are in a strengthened position to assert their need for full employment and an expansion of production, not retrenchment. They have no place to go but to the politics required to get it. The corporations are proving that these needs cannot be met through the operation of their monopolized market. The only hope is to move toward what Henry 2nd fears—toward socialism through public control and democratic planning of the economy. ■

Letters

Workers of the world: block that kick

Editor:

When your newspaper came out, I thought I had seen the last of Irwin Silber. But in the latest issue of *ITT*, he reappears under the name Jack Russell.

Just as Silber used to see the twilight of capitalism in every film, Russell sees the class struggle writ large in sports. For Russell, the football audience can conveniently be divided into the working class and professional/managerial types. The former like defense; the later offense. He even divides teams into working class and capitalist.

He reasons: the working class, being dumb bastards, are only interested in smashing things; therefore, they like the defense. Our rulers, who are interested in planning, like the offense.

Most football fans like both. If Russell wants to understand why Pittsburgh's defense was given great publicity, while their offense was given little, he should look at their relative statistics.

On cities: Oakland, the working class town, has a team known for its offense; San Francisco, sophisticated managerial town, has a team known primarily for its defense.

You need a new sports columnist.

—Robbie Keith
Oakland, Calif.

Better alternatives to schlock rock

Editor:

Re your article "Alternative networks give public a chance" (*ITT*, Feb. 9), it gives a distorted view of the non-commercial radio field. Specifically, your view of National Public Radio. As a former employee of one of NPR's backbone stations, and a former All Things Considered reporter, I can justify the fact that people in my position refer to the network as National Bullshit Radio, or Mushroom Public Radio. NPR has a reputation as a network that presents a liberal image, that questions the status quo, that reports the unreported. For those of us who know it, however, NPR is a censorer and a distorter. The alternative they present is like Jimmy Carter's pardon: it's great for some cases, but for the majority of Americans, it's meaningless.

Certainly, NPR is some sort of alternative. It is 600 percent better than most radio in the country. That is simply because most radio in the country stinks. There are much better examples of alternatives to schlock rock and middle of the road mush music. The stations of the National Federation of Community Broadcasters are examples to be checked out closely. These stations are listener-supported, meaning more of a no-strings attached situation, more open to disenfranchised elements of

society, and sometimes, worker-controlled or community controlled. And real, every-day people community controlled, not Rockefeller Foundation, corporate executive, college communication department head community controlled.

The progressive developments in NPR, in large part, are changes forced by the NCFB activists. Much of the best programming on radio today is put out by such people. NPR may have more listeners, but that is because they are less controversial. Much of their programming could fit onto any commercial station, if commercial breaks were given in the shows.

—Ed Schoenfeld
Oakland, Calif.

A sickening dish

Editor:

Don Rosg's recent article on Richard Daley's legacy is an example of the worst tendencies in left journalism. Those tendencies may be summarized in this recipe:

Put in a large bowl one city, state, or nation in which the working class wields little or no power.

Stir in the word "totalitarian" or, better yet, "fascist" as descriptive of class rule in said city, state, or nation. (Season with empirical data if any are at hand.)

Add stale references to "public apathy" and, if the cook is so inclined, some phrases that suggest how backward the masses are, or how willing they are to tolerate what is so manifestly intolerable.

Sprinkle with sentences hinting darkly at the impending doom of human freedom, and the plight of those few who still love it.

Place in standing file at room temperature.

When moldy, or when the situation warrants rigorous analysis, remove from file and serve to left audience.

This is a traditional offering on occasions when the failure of the left to generate any sustained movement seems to require explanation. It nourishes the souls as well as the bodies of the redeemed, because it ascribes the abject powerlessness of the masses to their sinful refusal to combine in a "class alliance" against corruption and tyranny, and accounts for the failure of the left by reference to the sins of the masses.

It gives me indigestion.

—J.L. Leavitt
Chicago

Didn't go far enough!

Editor:

An article written by Barbara Ehrenreich "Will national health insurance insure anyone better health?" (*ITT*, Jan. 19) did not go far enough.

Certainly, it is difficult to believe that any meaningful NHI would involve private insurance companies. In fact, private participation would cause the whole affair to be a calamity. NHI has to be completely federalized, from the doctors on down to the pharmaceutical companies. I think that it is this latter

point that Ehrenreich fails to emphasize. Not only can NHI not be run by private insurance companies, but the tax monies used to finance the program (the same taxes which come predominantly from the poor) cannot be used to pay private doctors. Otherwise, it would be the same old case of the capitalist rip-off found in all phases of American society.

Tax dollars go to subsidize private business—one very major case being the war industries. If NHI is to be truly national, the monies used to finance it must be for the payment of public workers used to carry it out. Private medicine is the precise reason why costs are so high. Publicly salaried employees effectively would put a cap on the system. As it is proposed now, no one would really know how much is needed for the program, for it would be determined by how much profit the greedy capitalists want; that would be determined by their whim.

NO PRIVATE MEDICINE!

—Jeremy Horne
Tallahassee, Fla.

Attica is still with us

Editor:

On Dec. 30, 1976, New York Gov. Hugh Carey pardoned seven Attica inmates and commuted the sentence of Dacajeweah (John Hill). He ordered that disciplinary proceedings be dropped against the ten correctional officers and ten state troopers.

Many of those who identify with our courageous struggle were elated at the prospect of Dacajeweah's release.

On Jan. 13, Dacajeweah appeared before the New York State Parole Board. And on Jan. 18 it was official that he had been hit with two more years (parole denied for another two years).

The Parole Board explained their denial of his release as the result of protest from various communities unfavorable towards his release.

The Commissioner of Parole had apprised legal counsel for Dacajeweah that the New York State Parole Board was pleased with the interview they conducted with him.

Once again, the forces of reaction and retaliation are escalating their campaign, and Dacajeweah remains the Scapegoat of Attica.

The Attica struggle is not over, though many would like for it to be. As long as one of the 62 Attica Indictees' case is open, there must be people to be supportive. We need Dacajeweah out here with us on the outside.

Currently, two concrete things can be done. Letters, telegrams, petitions, etc. should be sent to both Gov. Hugh Carey and to the Chairman of the New York State Parole Board.

- Gov. Hugh Carey
The Capitol
Albany, N.Y. 12224
- Edwin Hammock
Chairman, N.Y. State Parole Board
State Office Campus Bldg. #2
Albany, N.Y. 12226

—Akil Al-Jundi
New York City

Sweezy and Magdoff quit as IN THESE TIMES sponsors

Editor:

During the formative stages of what eventually turned out to be *IN THESE TIMES*, we were asked if we would sign a statement of support. We were glad to do so, not because we necessarily agreed with the new paper's editorial or political stands, but because the left press in the United States is woefully small and it seemed to us that only good could come from the founding of a new independent socialist newspaper under the direction of people whose competence and dedication were well known to us. We did not then understand, however, that our names would be included on the paper's masthead among a list of permanent sponsors, and we would not have agreed to this course if we had been consulted. Now that the paper has been coming out for more than two months, it is clear to us that the fact of our being listed as sponsors has been the source of considerable misinterpretation and confusion. Quite a few *Monthly Review* readers have written asking us just what it means, whether we endorse editorial policies espoused by *IN THESE TIMES*, etc. In view of the plausible interpretation that we are somehow involved in making decisions on the paper's coverage and editorial policy, and since we do not participate in any such activity, we ask that you remove our names from the sponsor list. At the same time, we wish you success in spreading the word on socialism.

—Paul M. Sweezy
—Harry Magdoff
Editors, *Monthly Review*

A Chinese Stalin?

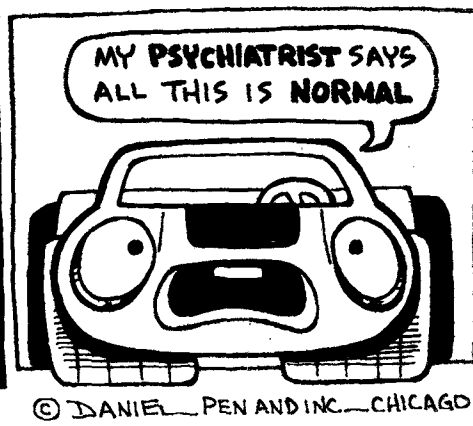
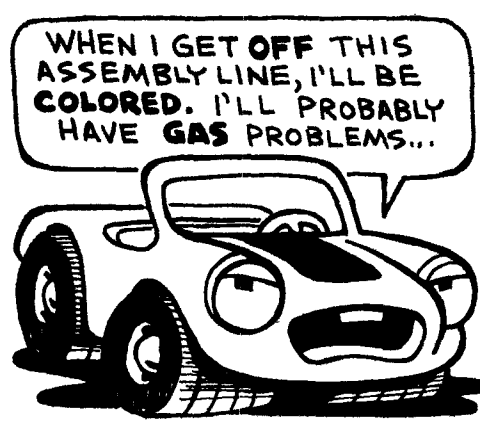
Editor:

Your editorial "China shakes the Maoists" (*ITT*, Jan. 26) takes an historical relativist position regarding the virtues of the Maoist regime and its recent developments. I am not so sanguine.

In many respects, Mao's historical role can be compared with Lenin's. Could it also be that, unwittingly yet logically, he paved the way for a Chinese Stalin? Let us hope that such a development will never eventuate; nevertheless, we should keep this in mind while watching the evolution of the situation in the near future.

—Joyce Goodman
Ithaca, N.Y.

Editor's note: In the Lincoln feature of Feb. 9., several paragraphs were printed out of order. The correct order is: From the end of column 1, p. 13, go to line 11, column 3. Read to end of page. Go back to top of column 2, read through line 10 of column 3, and continue on page 14. Also, Carl Schulz is of course Carl Schurz, the great German-American Republican leader.



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Ira Shor

Education in crisis: the gains of the '60s under attack

Education in widely separated places and at all levels is in a new state of crisis. Unlike the political eruptions of ten years ago, the school crises of the '70s revolve around cutbacks, poor performance of students and the reassertion of conservative rule.

In the past year, national attention has focused on 'Why Johnny can't read.' The mass media have sensationalized school failures into a 'literacy crisis,' ranking the decline in education along with the decline of the church and family life. In California 75 percent of the top secondary graduates were reported to have failed a new writing test, and in New York half the high school students are dropping out before graduation, while more than 50 percent read below grade level. As school discipline breaks down in many locations, a 'career-education' conference urgently meets in Texas to consider how to lower the "unrealistic" aspirations of high school youth. At the same time, the Massachusetts School Board investigates declining SAT scores, and national journals like *Change* join the debate on the value of college. The prestigious *Chronicle of Higher Education* as well as *Time* and *Newsweek* have already joined the 'literacy crisis' dialogue. Meanwhile, the academy waits for the other shoe to drop, as Harvard convenes its first reassessment of liberal arts since 1945.

►Fishing in troubled waters.

Centrifugal forces pulling at American society affect schools and all other social institutions. As one eye of a hurricane

with many centers, the new school crisis is a complex involving more than poor pupil performance. Amid shrinking funds there is curriculum confusion in school and a lack of jobs in the economy for aspiring graduates.

The best fishermen in these troubled waters are the conservatives. Entrenched before the insurgent '60s, they are now restoring their rule. Their offensive is reversing the opening to the left that brought new students to college—workers, minorities, women—and new pedagogy into the academy. Popular organizations, weakened by years of recession, clandestine state repression, and political fragmentation, have not been able to halt conservative reversals in school or government cuts made in city halls and state capitols.

The conservative housecleaning of the '70s is different from the dramatic firings of radical teachers in the previous decade. Under the guise of budget retrenchment, young teachers (where women and minorities are over-represented) are fired first. The newest compensatory, non-white and female programs are the earliest to be closed or curtailed. 'Seniority,' an important trade-union principle, is set against 'affirmative action,' dividing teachers against each other by age, sex and race.

In addition, public colleges face stiff competition from private schools for state subsidies. Private colleges promote 'portable' state scholarships, which students can use on any campus. The older public universities, in turn, out-compete the newer, less politicized working-class colleges for a shrinking public dollar. As in

other areas of American life, the least organized suffer the greatest losses.

Naked competition for money and jobs is accompanied by ideological warfare. School conservatives on the offensive attack 'excessive egalitarianism' and 'unworthy' students floating through college on inflated grades. They call for the stricter standards that gave way in many places some years back. Their 'standards' are the familiar old ones articulated by elite schools in the days before millions of working people entered college. While proclaiming a national 'literacy crisis,' they want fewer people in college. While seeing the failure of their traditional standards, they demand the imposition of more 'standards.' They offer water to a drowning man. Their old teaching methods dominate America's school machine, and it is the very failure of these methods that creates rebelliousness and functional illiteracy.

►Literacy crisis a hoax?

Conservative critics of new pedagogy and egalitarian education judge school from the top down. Enconced in an ivory tower, they measure the failure of mass education by the distance between an Ivy Leaguer and a worker-graduate. In contrast, a voice positively judging the gains of workers, women and minorities, is that of Richard Ohmann, author of *English in America*. Writing recently in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, Ohmann sees the 'literacy crisis' as a near-hoax engineered by mass media, and used by elite academics to justify a new austerity in

education. The long-time editor of *College English* magazine defends 'egalitarianism' by showing how some test scores are bound to decline as under-represented groups finally get more education and more testing. Ohmann cites a few test scores that are rising and reminds us that the real failure is the functional illiteracy provoked by school and compounded by the media.

The new 'egalitarianism' debate echoes a New York school crisis of a hundred years ago. Diane Ravitch records in her *Great School Wars* how conservatives back then argued that too much education made workers insolent or uncomfortable with their station in life. Voices in the democratic tradition said that democracy owed more than three R's to the people. In that centennial fight, City and Hunter Colleges survived as publicly-funded higher education for working people. The issue is still be contended, as the pendulum swings right and knocks 50,000 students and 2,000 teachers out of the City University of New York.

An educated workforce is more crucial now to progressive social change than a century ago. Skills of reading, writing, and critical thought must have the widest possible distribution in an advanced society dominated by mass media if working people are to organize in their own interest. The quality and availability of mass education is one test of the health of American society.

Ira Shor, teaches at Staten Island Community College. His column appears regularly.



Madison primary

Continued from page 3.

that Soglin simply did not take his responsibility as an elected official seriously enough.

►No land-use plan.

Sack charged that the incumbent mayor failed to follow through on many of the campaign promises he made in 1973. He pointed out that Madison still has no land use plan, something Soglin called essential four years ago. More serious, Sack said, the mayor continues to permit both suburban sprawl and the decay of the central city's housing stock while committees debate appropriate land use. Sack promised an "immediate" end to sprawl, including a moratorium on housing development on the city's fringes, if necessary.

Sack charged Soglin with lax administration of building inspection codes, and he scored the current administration's policies on housing in a detailed position paper examining the causes and cures for speculation in the housing market. He also criticized the mayor for lack of leadership in seeking alternatives to the property tax as a source of city funds. Sack frequently noted that the wealthy residents of two villages within Madison's city limits use city services, but pay no city property taxes. He promised to make these "predatory tax islands, bastions of great wealth and privilege" pay their fair share into the city's coffers.

Thirty-seven percent of Madison's electorate turned out for the primary on Feb. 15, and those who voted obviously took the criticisms of Soglin seriously.

►Conservative return possible.

The mayoral election on April 5 could restore to Madison the conservative politics of the pre-Soglin era. Soglin's vote total in the primary combined with Sack's would

have been enough to defeat Amato by a relatively narrow margin, but Amato and Duffey together outpolled Soglin and Sack by 1,500 votes. Neither Duffey nor Sack has endorsed a mayoral candidate. Sack says that he will not support Paul Soglin unless Soglin adopts the position Sack advocated during the primary campaign. Some of Sack's campaign workers, however, have indicated they will now

been closely identified with the local Chamber of Commerce, and his supporters may well lean toward Amato.

Madison traditionally votes more conservatively in the spring off-year elections than in presidential and congressional races. This concerns Soglin's supporters, who also worry because the April 5 election occurs in the middle of the university's spring break, when many students will be out of town. Soglin's campaign staff will encourage students to vote absentee, but this strategy could backfire. Last November, a surprisingly large percentage of the vote in student wards went to President Ford. An absentee ballot drive on campus could stir up more votes for Amato.

In any event, Amato's primary victory shocked Madison's liberals and left-liberals out of their self-satisfied complacency. "The positive part about it," a sober Paul Soglin told the press Tuesday night, "is that it's going to make our people move."

Judy Strasser writes for *In These Times* from Madison.

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Barbara Ehrenreich

Female sexuality reaches new Hites — Masturbation is the new in thing



When I was a kid you could get your face slapped for doing it. Today, we are led to understand, it is being done in Greyhound buses and toilet stalls, on dentist chairs and under the complimentary blankets on trans-Atlantic 747s. And if for some reason you *can't* do it, there are doctors who are willing to treat you for (pardon the technical language here) "masturbatory orgasmic inadequacy syndrome."

The change is even more striking if you go back about 70 or 100 years. Nineteenth century doctors knew no greater public health menace than "self-abuse." In women it caused hysteria, tuberculosis, sterility and cancer. Male victims turned into "inverts" (homosexuals) or simply turned to mush. No precaution was too great: Mothers strapped their children's arms and legs apart so there could be no accidents in bed. Strong men "confessed" in tears to clergymen or doctors; and at least according to the annals of the medical profession, elegant ladies begged their doctors for the only reliable cure—removal of the clitoris.

Masturbation began its slow climb to respectability with the Kinsey reports, which showed that it was just about as common as necking and apparently no more harmful. But it only really came out from under the covers with Masters and Johnson, who discovered that it was not

only OK; it was actually *better*. Women had more intense orgasms, according to Masters' and Johnson's lab instruments (they did not ask the women), by doing it themselves than by doing it with someone else. Masters and Johnson seized on masturbation as the touchstone of female sex therapy: find out what turns you on and then share the good news with your "partner."

►An end in itself.

Now at last, with *The Hite Report*, masturbation has become an end in itself, no longer needing to be justified as a cure for sexual "inadequacy" or (as Masters and Johnson also suggest) menstrual cramps. It had to happen: If masturbation is better, why bother with "partners" anyway? *The Hite Report* starts off with masturbation—listing six basic techniques and several subtechniques—and all the other types of sex come afterwards, as if they were mere variations on the basic masturbatory experience.

What's next? Will the sex therapists be telling their patients to "try it with a partner" a few times just to improve their masturbatory techniques? Will women who once got through their marital obligations by fantasizing about Paul Newman switch to fantasies about warm vibrators?

There are some real advantages to masturbation—make no mistake about it. It will not give you VD, make you pregnant, break your heart, or even jeopardize your standing as a Girl Scout troop leader. You can do it even if you're fat or old, even if you don't smell good, can't do disco dances, or are otherwise disqualified from the Great American Sexual Marketplace. It is the greatest democratic advance in sex since the invention of the condom. With masturbation, everyone has a right to orgasms and the supply is unlimited.

►Don't touch.

But still there is a cold and lonely ring to the praises being heaped on masturbation. At a feminist conference on sexuality recently, I heard a speaker describe her first "masturbation party," featuring group masturbation in a circle. "It was great," she gushed. "All night, *nobody touched*."

No "touching," no sticky dependencies for the new sexually liberated woman. She is "equal" at last—equal to that proud tradition of capitalist manhood which includes Teddy Roosevelt, John D. Rockefeller and Captain Ahab. "Real" men don't need anybody; "real" men do things on their own. And the "liberated" women celebrated by *Viva*, *Playgirl* and Ms. Hite are as tough and self-reliant as any men—in the bedroom as well as the board-

room, as the magazines delight in reminding us.

So while I welcome the de-criminalization of masturbation, I worry about the wave of masturbatory enthusiasm that seems to be sweeping the country. People's lives have already been pretty thoroughly atomized, pulverized and alienated by the workings of late capitalist culture. We can accommodate to that atomization—with dope, vibrators, stereos with head sets—or we can try to break through it. And to break through it we have to reclaim sex as an area of *human connectedness*, as a relationship *between people*.

Besides, without another person, it's just not that much fun. Sex without the nuances of power and playfulness that go on between two people may offer orgasm, but never adventure. Imagine the porn novel of the future:

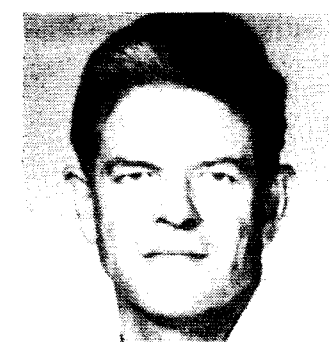
"She poured herself a glass of wine and slipped into a silky negligee. With a languid look in her eye she walked over to the bedside table and opened the ornate mahogany box that sat on it. Voluptuously she reached in and took out the vibrator, and, with growing excitement, searched for the nearest electric outlet..."

Honestly, would you keep reading?

Barbara Ehrenreich is co-author (with Deirdre English) of *Witches, Midwives and Nurses*. Her column appears regularly.

Staughton Lynd

Labor and the Law — Public ownership & workers' control



What is workers' control? Sometimes workers' control is presented as an alternative to public ownership. This is a mistake. Workers' control is a humane democratic kind of public ownership, the only kind worth working for.

Historically, workers' control was emphasized as a corrective to public owning. In the Soviet Union, for example, for a very short time after the Revolution, the management of industry was in the hands of workers' councils, or soviets. Then control was given to tripartite authorities made up of representatives of the party, the management, and the workers: the so-called troika. Finally, under Stalin, the plant manager was given full power.

Another example of public ownership gone wrong is the nationalized industries of Great Britain and France. Although certain representatives of the trade union movement now sit on the boards of directors of these industries, the ordinary worker has no more say in their management than before nationalization.

►The other way round.

If these are examples of public ownership without workers' control, workers' control without public ownership is illustrated by co-determination in the German steel and coal industries. There management and labor have equal representation on the bodies that manage the industries. This experiment came about after World War II, when the Ruhr was administered by Great Britain, where a Labor Party had just come to power. When the occupation ended, the Adenauer government sought to put an end to co-determination, but 96 percent of the miners and metalworkers

in the Ruhr voted to strike unless co-determination was continued. It was continued. In other German industries workers elect a smaller percentage of the boards of directors. For instance, in GM's Opel subsidiary in Germany the workers elect two members of the board.

Early in 1977 a prestigious committee recommended that England adopt co-determination legislation in that country. Under the recommended plan, any union representing 20 percent or more of the work force in a given company could force an election to determine if the company should be administered jointly. A simple majority of the company's workers would suffice to put the scheme in effect. After such a vote—similar to an NLRB representation election in the United States—management and workers would each choose an equal number of directors, who in turn would choose a smaller number of outside directors.

Both in Germany and England, ultimate economic power remains with those persons who provide capital for industry: large shareholders, the banks.

►A third way.

The third alternative, public ownership and workers' control, is illustrated by Yugoslavia. In Yugoslavia, the supreme authority within each enterprise is the entire body of workers. The workers elect a workers' council, which meets approximately once a month and is charged with making decisions on all major functions of the enterprise. The council adopts the wage and salary schedule, the budget, balance sheet, and profit and loss statements.

It makes decisions on purchase and sale of assets, on expansion or establishment of new plants, and on how the earnings of the enterprise should be allocated: to new investment, to social services, and so on. The workers' council elects a management board, in practice largely from its own ranks. At least three-fourths of the members of the management board must be production workers. Only the director is independent of the workers' council, to the extent of being chosen by the city council.

I'm not able to say exactly what all this means in practice. I don't know, for example, to what extent workers have the right to strike. I don't know how trade unions relate to workers' councils. I don't even know how they should relate. What I am clear about is that if workers' control is to mean participation by workers in the decisions that affect their lives, industry must be publicly owned.

►What does "control" mean?

Another way of making the same point is that workers must control the big decisions in their enterprises as well as the small ones. There is a tendency to think of workers' control as shop floor control, and nothing more. This reflects the fact that while American capitalism might tolerate more say-so by workers as to the speed of the line, it will not permit employees to determine whether or not a plant should stay open. But to have control over their work, those who work for a living must control the big decisions about capital investment as well as shop floor decisions. What profits it to work

a little more slowly, if the plant shuts down? How much is it worth to have the right to stop work over an unsafe condition, if the boss can stop the whole plant?

The big problem in envisioning public ownership and workers' control is: who speaks for the public? On the one hand, the workers of a particular workplace don't adequately represent the public as a whole. The people who make Ford cars have no particular right to decide how many cars of what kind should be made, or for what price. On the other hand, it would be all too easy for the national government to claim to represent the public. That would put us back at Square 1, with the problem of controlling a bureaucratic nationalized industry.

I suspect that the Yugoslavs (and Cubans and Chinese) are on the right track in seeking local public ownership. The ordinary enterprise would then be run by a combination of the workers in the plant, and the citizens of the local community. The ordinary worker would be both a worker and a local citizen, of course. Therefore, instead of "government" being a distant agency in Washington which sent him or her orders about work, the government which owned his or her workplace would be the city council, and he or she would take part both in the decisions at the plant and in decisions at city hall.

Staughton Lynd, a longtime civil rights and antiwar activist, practices law in Youngstown, Ohio. He and his wife Alice edited *Rank and File, Personal Histories by Working-Class Organizers*. His column appears regularly.

One big union at the *Herald-Examiner*

Photo by Sherry Rayn Barnett

By Bob Gottlieb

Los Angeles. In December 1967, 13 different craft unions walked off their jobs or were locked out of the Los Angeles *Herald-Examiner*. The issue was wages. The newspaper Guild wanted parity with other union shops in the area, but the *Herald's* publisher, George Hearst Jr., refused to come even close to the union's offer. Hearst looked forward to a strike in order to try to rid himself of the unions and gain absolute dominance over his property. He secured the services of professional strikebreakers, installed a new security system, set up a new printing operation in the L.A. suburbs and warned his executives that a protracted battle was in the works.

It was a bitter and bruising strike. The Central Labor Council threw its support behind the strikers. The Hearst corporation supported and subsidized George Hearst's resistance (*Time* magazine estimated strike losses of \$150 million in the first year). Sympathy towards newspaper unions was at an all time low in the 1960s and Hearst capitalized on favorable sentiment in the Los Angeles business community. By 1969 Hearst had effectively broken the strike, though the picketing continued and the AFL-CIO placed the *Herald* on its unfair list. The newspaper unions in Los Angeles had been completely routed.

►Cutting costs.

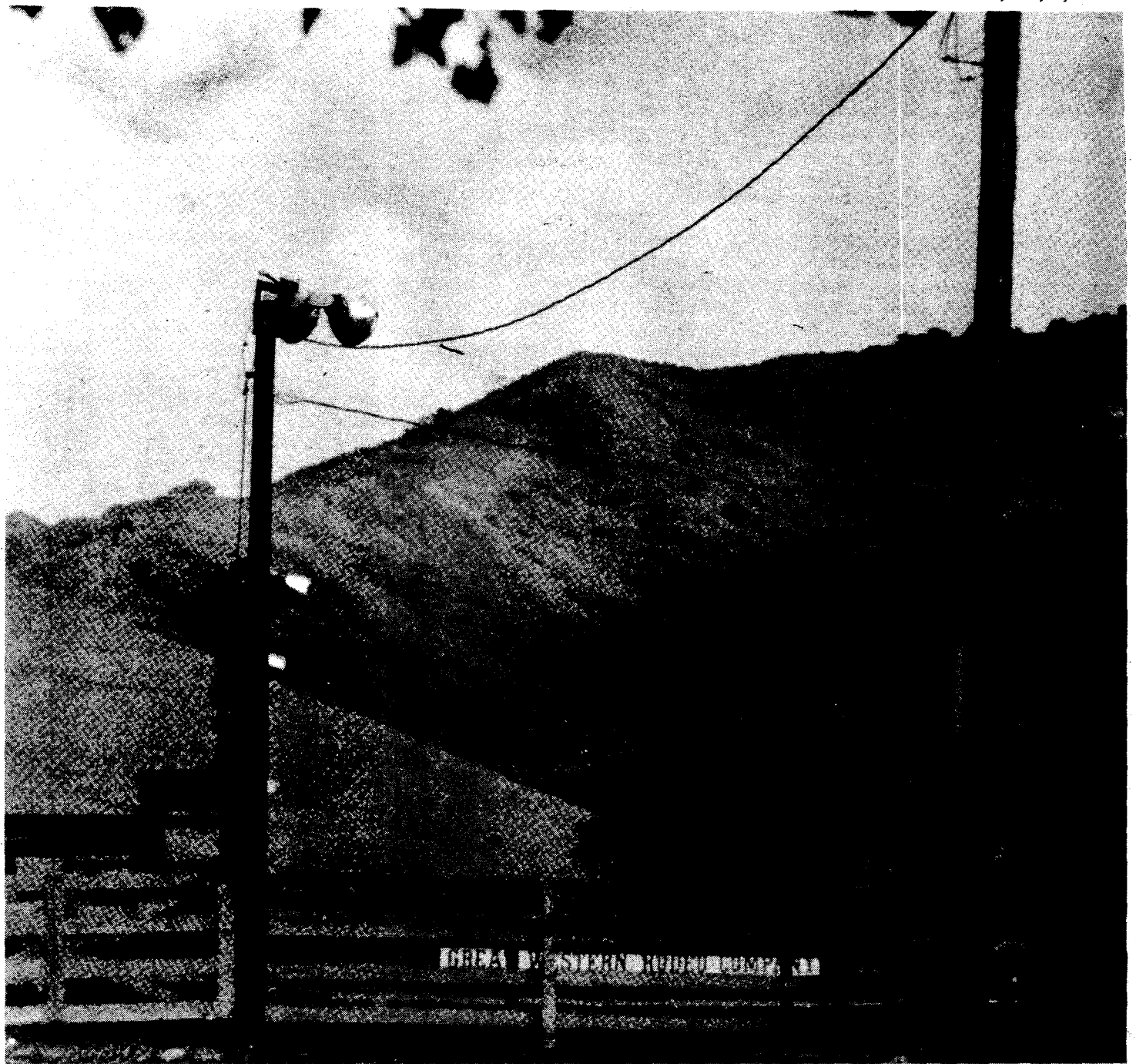
With the *Herald* completely in his control, Hearst proceeded to let the paper disintegrate. He and his general manager George Sjostrom ruthlessly cut costs. They pared the paper's staff from 2,000 to 700, kept wages frozen (starting salary for a reporter in January 1977 was \$128/week and the highest possible salary was \$234/week), trimmed every department in the process. Circulation dropped from 725,000 in 1967 to below 350,000 (and continues to fall), advertising lineage fell to one-third its 1967 levels and, most importantly, the editorial quality of the paper declined from a typically bad Hearst daily to one on every journalist's worst ten list.

The paper made no pretense of trying to adequately cover the news. Its ad jingle boasted that the *Herald* was for those "who didn't have all day to read a paper." Controversial subjects were taboo, and editors told their reporters to lay off anything that related back to George Hearst—unless it was one of the frequent puff pieces assigned by the city desk or the feature editors. The managing editor not only accepted expense-paid junkets from the South African, Taiwan, and South Korean governments, but then proceeded to write glowingly about how those dictatorships maintained order and "helped" their people.

By the early '70s, most of the "scabs"—those that had crossed the picket lines during the strike in 1967 and 1968—had either left the paper or been fired. The paper had a yearly turnover rate of 30 percent—over 300 percent since the strike had begun. The new staff was younger and included many women and minorities. They had come to the *Herald* with little awareness of the strike. Desperate for a job in the post-Watergate journalism crush, many younger writers were thankful for a job at any big city daily.

►A time clock for reporters.

They soon found out just how bad the *Herald* really was. Reporters punch in and out on a time clock and are docked if they're ten minutes late. Staff-initiated story ideas are scotched by the city desk, and any kind of initiative is frowned upon. "It feels like Hearst and Sjostrom are deliberately attempting to demoralize us," one of the staffers complained, and the sentiment is widely shared. "It seems they actually dislike journalists," another reporter said of her bosses. One reporter, assigned to do a story on Howard Hughes and his "Spruce Goose" airplane, attempted to locate clips on the "Spruce Goose" in the paper's morgue, but spent hours unable to find the appropriate cate-



George Hearst Jr. and two associates at the *Herald-Examiner* set up their own company and then contracted services with the paper. They used the profits from these inside dealings to buy this ranch.

gory in the library's oblique set up. She finally located the clips in a box marked "Animals."

While the paper declined, Hearst, Sjostrom, and Hearst's lawyer Philip Battaglia (a one-time Reagan aide) set up their own company (with the three men as sole stockholders) and conducted a series of profitable deals with the *Herald-Examiner*. IN THESE TIMES has learned that the Hearst trio's company contracted with the *Herald* to provide "services" including guard service, contracting and repair work, transportation, office supplies, uniform sales and accounting and research work. The trio's private company has used the profits from the *Herald* contracts to help purchase a multi-million dollar ranch in Ventura County, northeast of Los Angeles for Hearst, Sjostrom, and Battaglia. It appeared to be a case of "insider dealing": milking one company for the benefit of another.

►The new union.

Into this situation stepped a new union. In the fall of 1974, several truckdrivers, all of whom had been hired well after the '67 strike, decided to organize a union for the drivers. They contacted the Teamsters Union, which reluctantly offered token support. But the drivers soon learned from the NLRB that in order to organize themselves they first had to decertify the Newspaper Guild (which was still officially on strike) and then had to win an election that included not just the drivers, but editorial workers and classified ad people who had been part of the old Guild unit. At this point the Teamsters pulled out, and the *Herald* drivers created their own independent union, which they called "Employees for Better Working Conditions."

Word spread around the *Herald* like wildfire. Pressmen, stereotypers, the mailroom workers, photographers, the advertising department, and even reporters contacted the drivers and expressed interest. A new logic emerged from the situation: if the drivers have to organize a

unit that also includes editorial workers and classified ad people, then why not organize a unit that includes the stereotypers, the secretaries, the janitors, the printers; in fact, why not organize everybody. Why not one big union?

While the drivers explored their options, they were contacted by William Torrance, International Vice President of the International Printing and Graphics Communications Union (IPGCU) who was in charge of newspaper organizing. Though the IPGCU (formerly known as the Printing Pressmen, the group that had just recently struck the *Washington Post*) was a classical craft union, Torrance had come to the conclusion that only industrial organizing made sense in the newspaper business. No one had tried to organize a centralized plant-wide bargaining unit; one where the blue collar production workers could join together with the white collar advertising people and the "professional" editorial writers in the same organization.

►Workers still officially "scabs."

The obstacles were enormous: besides the traditional "class" hostilities between blue and white collar, *Herald* employees were also ostensible "scabs," and no newspaper union had ever regained its position at a shop that had been previously struck and where the strike had been lost. But few *Herald* employees really considered themselves strikebreakers any more than fellow workers at the *Los Angeles Times* considered themselves scabs (the *Times*, which is also on the AFL-CIO's "unfair" list, has "officially" been on strike since 1890). The conditions at the *Herald* also made a big difference: "professional" reporters lose some of their class bias when they punch clocks and work in the debilitating circumstances that prevailed at the paper.

Torrance linked up with the *Herald* drivers and helped obtain the Central Labor Council's blessing for the organizing drive. The Guild and 12 other craft unions officially withdrew from the

paper, thus ending the 1967 strike and preparing the way for the new union to bypass any decertification effort. The Employees for Better Working Conditions, now affiliated with the IPGCU due to Torrance's help and support, conducted an exciting campaign. It brought down Cesar Chavez to talk to the Chicano workers at the paper, and made a special attempt to appeal to each of its diverse constituencies. Elections at the plant began in early 1976 and in each vote the new union won by an overwhelming margin. The last vote was held in September '76 and the *Herald-Examiner* workers had elected for themselves a single plant-wide bargaining agent.

Negotiations for a contract began in the fall. The union greatly scaled down its initial proposals, including a 35 percent wage hike, to an 8 percent wage increase and other benefits. But Hearst and Sjostrom have held back from an agreement, confident that *Herald* employees, particularly the editorial workers, would be reluctant to strike. Fears of the 1967 failure and high unemployment ("If we strike," one editorial worker complained, "there'd be lines several blocks long of people wanting to take our jobs") and lingering "professional" elitism amongst some editorial writers (particularly sports and entertainment) have hampered the union's bargaining position.

However, pressures on Hearst have begun to mount. Australian magnate Rupert Murdoch has already made an offer to buy the *Herald* and remains interested.

The adverse publicity concerning the "insider dealing" of Hearst and his two associates also might, according to several sources, force Hearst to conclude negotiations. A new, possibly more devastating strike is another possibility. Whatever the outcome, the new union drive at the *Herald-Examiner* is a portent of things to come if unions are to survive in the newspaper industry.

Bob Gottlieb lives in Los Angeles and is the co-author (with Irene Wolf) of a forthcoming history of the Los Angeles Times (Putnam).

Red Squad files: like a soap opera

By David Moberg
Staff Writer

"Ann Green reported that at one time there were 43 people living in the commune. Her bedroom is the front room in the basement and access is by a ladder in the bottom of the closet in the commune office. Tom Brown tore out the kitchen on the 2nd floor and made it into a bedroom for himself. The building has the worst case of roaches I have ever seen. There were literally hundreds crawling on the wall of the bathroom and kitchen.

"Roaches are one of the reasons Ann wants to move out of the commune. She thinks she may be pregnant by Tom Brown but still wants to move out; they will get married some other time. She would like one of the collective's women to move out with her. Ann blamed the roaches on Rick of Men Fighting Sexism who lives in the commune. Ann reported that Fred and Liz would not attend tonight's meeting because they were away on a religious retreat.

"Sally told Ann that Tom wants her to know that the Iranian students have a strong group at the community college and would like to work together with a NUC chapter. This led to a discussion of the chauvinistic attitudes of Arabs and their sexual habits. The chapter then discussed their current project, a pamphlet to be called 'The Politics of Fucking.' The group decided that the book they are writing will be more or less restricted to fucking in the movement. They decided that they had to deal with the problem of 'at what point does liberation become something that a man holds over a woman—if you are truly liberated, you'll do it.' Rachel said that the book must point out that liberation is the freedom not to fuck also."

►A Red Squad file.

Part of a bad novel about sixties counter-culture life? Excerpt from a letter to friends or family by an observant leftist commund? No, the passage—with names changed—is part of the file compiled by the Chicago "Red Squad" on the New University Conference, a socialist group of university faculty and undergraduate students active from 1969 to 1972.

What, you may ask, was such personal material—followed in this case by a discussion of tensions in the organization resulting from affairs of the national leader and complaints that one regional organizer was recruiting women by sleeping with them—doing in a police file? That is also being asked by the Alliance to End Repression, the ACLU and other groups now suing the Chicago police department. (See IN THESE TIMES, Feb. 2) As a result of the Alliance suit, much of what's in the files can now be made public. IN THESE TIMES gained access to the NUC files.

►Beginning even before the organization.

The files start off even before the organization was founded. The very first documents give evidence of some standing Red Squad practices: there was (1) an exchange of information with the state police in Texas, (2) a description of the "participatory democracy" ideas of NUC—indicating the political, non-criminal intent of the investigation, (3) a credit check and criminal charge check on an early leader (possibly to find compromising material on him), (4) a report of his membership in a local draft counseling organization whose records had previously been lifted by police in a "narcotics raid," and (5) a check for information with a private right-wing political organization, indicating the ties such groups have with police spies.

At the first press conference, the file report notes, "most of the news media reporters present disagreed with SUBJECT views, and phrased their questions in that respect." In many instances, Red Squad agents posed as newspaper and TV reporters, hampering the work of the press and fomenting suspicious, tense relationships between journalists and the

NOTE: ALSO TO BE USED FOR INFORMATION

INTELLIGENCE DIVISION CHICAGO POLICE DEPARTMENT

REPORT CASE

DATE OF REPORT 2 Feb. 1971

PERSON C.I. 436

SUBJECT MATTER OF INVESTIGATION
NEW UNIVERSITY CONFERENCE
Quantrell Hall
58th and Ellis

OTHER PERSONS PRESENT
None

DATE & TIME 28 January 1971 1500 Hrs.

INVESTIGATORS 579

PLACE OF On the Street

PURPOSE OF OR INFORMATION
TO obtain information on the SUBJECT that would be of interest to this Division.
Film showing took place on Wednesday, 21 January 1971 at 1900 Hrs.

STATEMENT OF OR INFORMATION

PERSONS IDENTIFIED

Dave Moberg I/W
I/W

Two showings of the film were scheduled: one for 7:15 P.M. and one for 9:00 P.M. Admission of \$1.00 per person was charged but not advertised on the flyers. Approximately 300 persons, mostly Orientals, attended the first film showing. Informant [redacted] of [redacted] student said that at on campus film showings, attendance at the second showing is usually larger and that the [redacted] could expect to take in at least \$700.00 this evening, if not more.

The audience was quiet and did not react to the film in a radical manner. They laughed once, at the antics of a small child, and applauded once, when the film showed the completion of the building of a causeway.

The evening began with a speech by Dave Moberg. He read the People's Peace Treaty and explained its purpose. He announced that there would be a meeting at 9:30 that night at the [redacted] to work on organizing this for the treaty and invited people to attend.

An u/f/u was selling materials from the [redacted] As of 9:00 P.M. she had sold nothing. Also on the table were the attached materials for the Peace Treaty Conference in Ann Arbor.

Bumbling, inefficient, goofy and crude as they were, the Red Squad did their best to make democracy "inoperative."

movement. Sympathetic reporters were also fed Red Squad information.

The political aims of the spying and filekeeping are often ludicrously obvious. The file records a university Peoples Peace Treaty meeting where "most appeared hippie style. This was an open meeting, meaning anyone could speak ... a discussion type meeting, ideas, suggestions and remarks were expressed by all. Everyone's opinion was subjected to the closest examination."

That is a description of the kind of activity supposedly safeguarded by the Bill of Rights from state interference. Yet it is in a file kept by an arm of the police force. That agency was charged, not through any law but only through its own internal memoranda, with investigating, prosecuting and "neutralizing"—"thru expose, cause to cease or change in direction"—groups and individuals "threatening the peace and security of the city and/or its citizens."

►Reports of specific views.

Although every reference to violence is duly noted, even when it's a scholarly discussion of the relationship between revolution and violence that is less provocative than the Declaration of Independence, the reports are also replete with reports of specific political views. "S--- states that America's leaders are racists, imperialists and war-like," one file reports. And another records that "at this time an unknown male praised Cuba in every way and condemned America in every manner."

True to their historical roots in the political squads of the late 19th century, contemporary Red Squad agents were alert for any foreign influence. There was a careful notation that most of the audience at one NUC film showing were "orientals." A leading black revolutionary group was described as "following the teachings of Kim Il Sung," although anyone vaguely familiar with the group knew most of the "teachings" sprang from ghetto street corners.

Likewise any contact with Commun-

ists was confirmation of the "germ theory of Communism," as attorney Richard Gutman describes it, justifying investigation of the contaminated. A prominent NUC member, a noted historian long critical of the Communist party, was identified as a "self-admitted Communist."

►AFT leader was an agent.

The most detailed accounts were possibly the work of Sheli Lilkin, a NUC member and until recently a prominent local and national leader in the American Federation of Teachers, whose name was recently added to the Alliance complaint. There is an immense amount of personal information on members—who was unemployed, jobs held or sought, membership in other organizations, plans for buying a house, marital tensions and budding affairs, friction between individuals and factions, use of drugs, family and commune finances, academic work (such as the subject of master's theses) and other examples of invasion of privacy. At times they verge on slander. One NUC member was described by "a colleague" according to the report, as working on his master's degree, very religious, completely non-violent and "nutty as a fruitcake and doesn't know what he wants, and everyone in the department keeps telling him that."

It's hard to tell who was told what by the Red Squad, but one file reveals that agents warned a major television network of an impending demonstration at their studio. There is also a report of detailed information on rental fees and insurance for a large meeting hall. Leftist groups, accustomed to sudden cancellations, had long suspected that police contacted building managers or bus companies about renting to radicals.

►Factionalism noted.

Financial affairs were given serious attention—problems in collecting dues, costs of operations, failures to pay salaries, fund-raising plans and basic office expenses. Also, files detail any ten-

dencies toward factions—such as reporting several names as constituting the "political reference group" of one NUC leader) or frictions (such as women's protests about sexism).

Spy reports always observed leftists' precautions about spies in the audience. "The three Xeroxed copies (of a proposal for an "action Faction") were passed around the room and then collected," one report reads. "The statement contained a disclaimer addressed to Police Agents, that all actions being planned were non-violent and not part of any conspiracy."

The one illegal action planned and reported in more than 200 pages of files, other than the publicly trumpeted May-day protests, was a plan to set off a stink bomb in a hotel where Nixon was visiting. From the files it appears that the two people most likely to have been agents were intimately involved in planning and executing that action—presumably not part of their assignment.

►A fearsome stereotype of radicals.

Frequently the files are quite funny. Agents had a fearsome stereotype of "radicals," not terribly appropriate for the well-meaning but fairly cautious members of NUC. Several times there are reports of meetings "ending without incidents," as if bombs and riots had been expected. "The audience" at a film showing, one file reports, "was quiet and did not react to the film in a radical manner," whatever that was. Perhaps they had been bored into lethargy, since the file also reveals that "the evening began with a speech by Dave Moberg."

As a very fragmentary and inaccurate remembrance of movements past, there are also some funny passages. For example, there is a "kid's liberation" leaflet with notations suggesting that the Red Squad tried to check out records on the children who signed it. In another file, there is a note: "Ann told Rebecca, Ted was here looking for you. He said he has some blue acid to sell that is pure. He said he will bring it on Wednesday." Then there are further hassles of commune living, discussions of whether monogamy is good for the political soul, and references to an underground press now buried under ground. It was only a few years ago, yet it reads like another era.

►Political documents.

Most of the files, however, are fattened with copies of NUC political documents, accounts of strategy sessions and discussion of political tactics that were fully legal and legitimate. When a new publication was readied, such as "Participatory Democracy in SDS," the Red Squad file incorporated it along with notes on how it would be distributed. There can be no question, after reading through the files kept, that the aim was political surveillance. The lawsuit in Chicago is challenging the longstanding refusal of the courts to reject such surveillance as an infringement of civil liberties.

It is also clear that the Red Squad missed a lot and was not as omnipresent as it often seemed. Yet its aims could be accomplished even when it was absent: distrust grew, cautious people stayed away, a presumption of wrongdoing hovered over left groups like NUC in a way that isolated them for potential supporters and many leftists overestimated the police state developing and were led, at times by agent provocateurs, into suicidal kinds of political organization and outlook that further isolated them.

The failures of the new left were not brought on by police spying, but the harassment was seriously destructive as part of an attack on political dissidence mounted from many points. Whatever its effects, it was also in principle a violation of First Amendment freedoms. Yet the Red Squad was there, as the NUC files and other volumes of documentation confirm. Bumbling, inefficient, goofy and crude as they were, the Chicago Red Squad did their best to make democracy "inoperative."

Hard times in upstate NY brings citizen action

Self help in Andes village

Andes, N.Y., looks like a lot of other Catskill villages: big white houses with cupolas and ginger-bread trimmed porches, shady lawns, spired churches, and a hotel with wide verandahs where summer people used to relax.

A few summer people still come to Andes, along with some fall hunters and winter skiers. The money these visitors spend and the incomes of the social security pensioners is all that keeps the town going these days.

There's no way to earn a living here. You can't do it raising a truck garden in what used to be called the "Cauliflower Capitol of the World." You can't do it breeding horses or dairying. The terrain is too bumpy and the growing season too short for grain farming. So the farms around the town are going back to timber. There is only one grocery store, and its proprietor says he's losing money and may have to close down.

There is nothing unique about the plight of Andes. The virtual disappearance of small industry and the rise of agribusiness has emptied many of this nation's villages, leaving behind only the old, the inept, and a few social idealists, who quickly learn that clean air is no substitute for a regular pay check.

What's special about Andes is that the citizens have come together and decided to do something to keep their village from becoming a ghost town. Four hundred turned out to the first meeting, which was chaired by a retired labor organizer and social activist named Hank Mayer.

Mayer, a friend and follower of crusty old socialist and back-to-nature faddist Scott Nearing, retired here with his wife about eight years ago, intending to piece out their social security checks by growing organic vegetables for sale. He was, he says, "through solving the world's problems."

Events and his neighbors have altered that resolve.

A committee formed under Mayer's leadership has drawn up a dozen alternative blue-prints for revitalizing the economic life of the town:

- a community slaughter-house and meat processing plant;

- a cooperative cannery;
- a cooperative grocery store;
- a community freezer plant;
- a workshop where the women of the area, many of whom are adept at needlework, can make things for sale in Albany and Schenectady;
- a center for making potpourri and organic cosmetics;
- a small woodworking plant to make picture frames, costume jewelry, or whatever.

"We can get along without New York City, but New York City sure as hell can't get along without us."

One of these projects—or perhaps two—will be recommended by the committee as a starter. The final decision will be made by those who will do the work. Part of the proceeds of whatever evolves will go to those who contribute their labor; part to the community as a whole.

The people of Andes may fail at this first attempt. They have no government backing and no special education or experience of economic planning. But they do have first-hand experience of other "hard times." Most of them can remember the depression of the '30s. And they have at least one leader able to apply the lessons of that era to this one.

The pensioners (and friends) are organizing themselves to solve their problems by their own efforts. If they succeed, they will have set an example for beleaguered Maine potato farmers, 80-acre Iowans, and Oregon ranchers who can't compete with the big pear growers. They believe they are important for this and other reasons.

As one senior citizen here puts it, "We can get along without New York City, but New York City sure as hell can't get along without us." They may prove to be right about that.

—Velma Tate

Velma Tate is a retired writer and editor who lives in a village in the same region.

New "ministers" avoid taxes

"Hallelujah!" said 148 residents of Hardenburgh, N.Y., one evening in September. With that, they became ordained ministers and their homes became churches, therefore tax-exempt.

It's part of a new kind of tax resistance in upstate New York, where in some communities as much as 40 percent of the land is exempt from property taxes, generally because the owners are churches. The Catholic church, for example, owns seminaries, churches and rental property, and pays taxes on none of it. Other religious organizations have been buying large amounts of land in the last few years.

"Hardenburgh is a root-hog-or-die small town with little industry, not much farming anymore, some summer visitors who help the economy somewhat, and a lot of people on welfare and old-age pensions," says a resident of the area.

Last year's reassessments in the face of more and more property becoming tax exempt were the last straw, she believes.

George McLain, Bishop of the Universal Life Church, ordained over half of Hardenburgh's residents. The church, which ordains by mail for \$10, made the opportunity of a religious vacation available to many men wishing to avoid the draft during the Vietnam War.

"A lot of people in Albany laughed when we started this movement," says McLain, a Hardenburgh resident, "but they're not laughing now."

The goal of the movement is the abolishing of all exemptions, Stephen Oppenheim, attorney for Citizens for Fair Taxation says. This may mean eventual abolition of real property tax "in favor of a tax that distributes the burden more fairly," he says.

The group has also challenged the exemption of some land in the area. May 1 is tax status day in New York state. On May 1 this year, town assessor Robert Kerwick says he will remove the 148 new churches from Hardenburgh's tax rolls. The State Board of Equalization and Assessment is threatening to remove Kerwick from his post if he removes the taxpayers from the rolls.

Oppenheim says the board actually has no jurisdiction in the case. "They've been throwing lightning bolts from Albany," he says, "but the board can't do anything. It's just a paper tiger."

The ruling of the assessor can be challenged in court, but one court case already upheld Hardenburgh's new churches. "There's no way to rewrite those exemptions to keep our people out," says Oppenheim. Other local tax-resistance groups are forming across the state, and George McLain, a plumber before he became a Doctor of Divinity with the Universal Life Church, is busy ordaining new ministers.

About one-third of all real property in the U.S. is tax-exempt because it is owned by the government or by educational, religious or charitable organizations. Soon the figure may go as high as 50 percent. The increasing tax burden on small homeowners, many of them older people on fixed incomes, may lead to increased tax resistance. More people, like those in Hardenburgh, may discover a sudden religious calling.

The *New York Times* reported one resident, after making her home a church, began holding prayer meetings there. The subject of the prayers? "Mostly taxes."

—Judy MacLean

cineaste

WINTER 1976-77 ISSUE

'Red Flags and American Dollars', A Preview of Bernardo Bertolucci's new film, "1900", with two interviews; 'The Politics of Luis Bunuel's Later Films' (from LOS OLVIDADOS to DISCREET CHARM); 'The Left and Porno'; UNDERGROUND, Pro and Con reviews; interviews with Nagisa Oshima on IN THE REALM OF THE SENSES and Alain Tanner on JONAH WHO WILL BE 25 IN THE YEAR 2000; plus reviews of THE FRONT, MEMORY OF JUSTICE, THE LAST WOMAN, THE OMEN, LET'S TALK ABOUT MEN, THE LAST TYCOON, etc.

SPRING ISSUE: HARLAN COUNTY, U.S.A.; Roberto Rossellini talks about his new film on Karl Marx

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BOOKS

Photo by Ken Firestone

His object all sublime, to make the energy fit the task

THE POVERTY OF POWER

By Barry Commoner

Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1976, \$10

This eminently readable book bursts like sunshine on the oily swirl of current talk about the "energy crisis." By its light we can distinguish cause from effect in what are in fact several crises—fuel shortages, a sullied environment, and ominous economic inflation unemployment.

If separate "solutions" to these problems are not to clash with one another ("Pollution control reduces energy supplies; energy conservation costs jobs")—we must understand the relationship of three basic systems that, together with political decisions, govern all human activity: the *ecosystem*, the *production system*, and the *economic system*.

The economic system is dependent on the wealth produced by the network of agricultural and industrial processes, and this in turn upon the resources of the ecosystem. Logically, the requirements of the ecosystem should govern, since if it fails the other two will fall. But "in actual fact, the relations ... are the other way around.... The ecosystem has been disastrously affected by the design of the modern production system. Gas-gulping cars pollute the environment with smog; petrochemical factories convert an unrenewable store of petroleum into undegradable or toxic agents. In turn, the faulty design of the production system has been imposed by the economic system, which invests in factories that promise increased profits at the cost of "environmental incompatibility and inefficient use of resources."

Since energy plays a decisive role in all three systems, Commoner looks to the laws of thermodynamics, "the science of energy," for an appropriate tool of analysis. While the First Law tells us that the energy of the universe cannot be created or destroyed, the Second Law—(that the entropy of the universe is constantly increasing)—tells us that some of the *capacity of energy to do work* is irretrievably lost whenever energy is used to produce work.

Commoner applies the Second Law to define a measure of the efficiency of energy use. The thermodynamic quality of energy is "characterized" by its temperature. Energy delivered at high temperatures has a high capability of doing work, is of high "quality." When we use high-quality energy (say, electricity) for a low-quality task (say, to heat water) or when we burn oil in a furnace at 500 degrees to warm a room to 70 degrees, we are using high-quality energy to accomplish tasks that could be done as well by a low-quality source such as solar collectors or the waste heat rejected by a power plant.

Second Law efficiency enjoins us to look first to the thermodynamic demands of the task to be accomplished, then to match to it the energy whose thermodynamic quality is just sufficient to the task. For example: the basic task of energy in a power plant is to produce steam to drive the generator, requiring, for thermodynamic efficiency, temperatures in the range of 1000-2000 degrees. In a nuclear power plant, the energy of the fission process is in the range of a million degrees. To use nuclear radiation to boil water for steam is a classical case of "thermodynamic overkill." And when the social and economic costs of controlling safety and radioactive waste (including military protection of the plant to prevent theft of bomb-material plutonium, with a mobile "recovery force" and domestic espionage) the folly of such thermodynamic mismatching must be seen to be colossal.

Commoner gives us a masterly exposition of the sources of energy—fossil and nuclear fuels on which we now depend, and the still unused source, the sun. He makes the point that just because solar energy comes to earth at low temperatures, it is particularly suited to space heat, heating water, cooking, refrigeration, and air-conditioning—uses that now represent about 28 percent of our national energy budget. And, being intrinsically of very high quality, it can readily be brought up to the temperature suited to *any* energy-requiring task by concentrating it. The huge parabolic mirror of the French solar furnace in the Pyrenees gathers enough to melt tungsten at nearly 6000 degrees, almost the temperature of the sun's surface.

His conclusion: "Solar energy can not only replace a good deal, and eventually all, of the present consumption of conventional fuels—and eliminate that much environmental pollution—but can also reverse the trend toward escalating energy costs that is so seriously affecting the economic system."

The uses of power are studied in depth in three segments of the American production system—agriculture, transportation, and the petrochemical industry. Typical Second Law efficiencies are calculated, from which it appears that the overall efficiency of the production system is probably no more than about 15 percent. In petrochemicals—the conversion of petroleum and natural gas into such products as synthetic fibers, plastics, pesticides and fertilizers—Commoner's estimate is that efficiency is near zero.

His conclusions: "In the huge gap between the *minimum* amount of energy needed to produce the goods and services we now enjoy, and the large amount we actually use to per-



Professor Commoner in class at Washington University.

form these tasks, lies the possibility for a drastic reduction (more than enough to eliminate imports if we wish) without reducing the standard of living."

The book's last chapter lays responsibility for many of our economic problems at the door of the changed design of production of the last 30 years, a design in which the amount of energy and capital needed to accomplish a task has increased; the amount of labor used has decreased; and the impact on the environment has worsened. The faults of the production system "have not risen, autonomously, from

within the system.... We now know from an analysis of the energy crisis that the operative fault—and therefore the locus of any remedy—lies in the design of the economic system.

"...The energy crisis and the webs of interrelated problems, confront us with the need to explore the possibility of creating a production system that is consciously intended to serve social needs and that judges the value of its products by their use, and an economic system that is committed to these purposes."

Whatever sensitive hackles this radical conclusion may raise,

it is not the result of parlor political theorizing, but the inescapable outcome of a painstaking empirical investigation of the American production system viewed in the light of a scientific understanding of our planet's great self-renewing processes.

—Frances W. Herring

Frances W. Herring is the author of *The Development and Control of Nuclear Industry in California*. She has retired from the Institute of Governmental Studies at the University of California (Berkeley) and is active in the ecology and peace movements.

Roots said something for America.

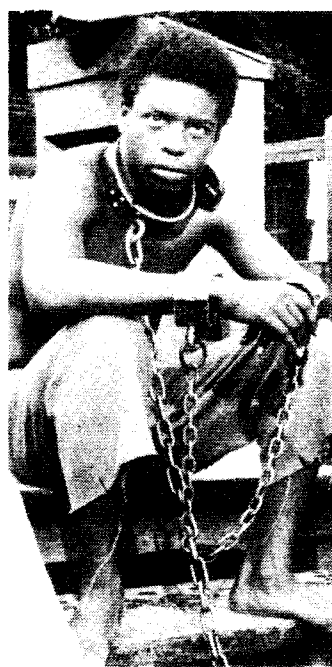
Eighty million Americans watched *Roots*. And eighty million Americans disproved the assumption of most media that the public can't understand or stomach anything that challenges their ability to think or change.

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The young Kunta Kinte.

and the interests we can expect them to represent in the future.

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Ferlinghetti's seventh: one of Whitman's "wild children" sings his mind

WHO ARE WE NOW?

by Lawrence Ferlinghetti
New Directions, N.Y., \$6.50 cloth; \$1.95
paper

Lawrence Ferlinghetti is a poetic straight shooter.

His new collection, *Who Are We Now?* is his seventh published work and has all the spritely, irreverent straightforwardness of his early work, *A Coney Island of the Mind*. There is the same deft use of repetition with variations on the initial theme or image. The polemical poems don't hit you over the head, but convey their messages with an incantatory rhythm, entrancing as the jazz the poet loves.

For example, in "Populist Manifesto," addressed to the kinds of poets he's fed up with, whom he'd like to persuade to join him in creating a new poetry "with terrible eyes and buffalo strength" there is this wonderful section which shows how frolicsome and witty Ferlinghetti can be while "laying it on thick."

*All you poets writing poetry
about poetry;
All you poetry workshop poets
in the boondock heart of
America
All you house-broken Ezra
Pounds,
All you far-out freaked-out
cut-up poets,
All you prestressed concrete
poets,
All you cunnilingual poets,
All you pay-toilet poets groan-
ing with graffiti,
All you A-train swingers who
never swing on birches,
All you masters of the sawmill
haiku
in the Siberias of America,
All you eyeless unrealists,
All you self-occulting surreal-
ists,
All you bedroom visionaries and
closet agitpropagators,
All you Groucho Marxist poets
and leisure class Comrades
who lie around all day*

*and talk about the working-
class proletariat,
All you Catholic anarchists of
poetry,
All you Black Mountaineers of
poetry,
All you Boston Brahmins and
Bolas bucolics,
All you den mothers of poetry,
All you zen brothers of poetry,
All you suicide lovers of poetry,
All you hairy professors of
poesie,
All you poetry reviewers
drinking the blood of the poet
All you Poetry Police —*

Clearly Whitman is Ferlinghetti's hero, but the "Populist Manifesto" contains a rebuke to the poet who sees himself as Whitman's principal descendant, Alan Ginsberg, and a none-too-subtle rephrasing of the opening lines of Ginsberg's "Howl":

*We have seen the best minds of
our generation ...
destroyed by boredom at poetry
readings ...
The hour of oming is over,
the time of keening come.*

Who Are We Now? is not only about politics and metaphysics and poetry; it is also about nature, and paintings, and fantasies. There are three good prose poems, including a 800-word run-on sentence sketch of "The Heavy." There are some pretty atrocious puns, many unexpected and jarring juxtapositions.

At 58, Ferlinghetti still lacks one single overriding poetic strength. His talent lies in simply and effectively combining so many different tones, especially the controlled expression of radical wonder, scorn or outrage.

At his best, and there is a lot of it in *Who Are We Now?*, Ferlinghetti, more than Ginsberg, is truly one of "Whitman's wild children."

—David M. Szonyi

David Szonyi is a poet and critic.



DANCE

Merce Cunningham tours

Merce Cunningham and Dance Company had a Broadway season for the first time this year, and are now embarked on a national tour (remaining scheduled performances are listed below).

Cunningham has been choreographing unconventional dance works since he was a soloist in the Martha Graham group in the early 1940s. In 1953 he began to work with a company of dancers at Black Mountain College, and in the past 24 years he has choreographed more than 70 works for himself and his dancers, performed extensively on college campuses and in dance festivals in this country, and won prizes and critical acclaim.

His choreographic technique uses every part of the body, moving wrists, shoulders, spines, faces, fingers, feet and elbows with astonishing speed and articulation. The movement is not attached to a narrative plot, but constructed by various methods, including chance. The dances, therefore, have a disconnected, illogical look, but also an air of intense physicality, freedom and individuality.

Cunningham's work has always been characterized by collaboration with contemporary composers and plastic artists, including John Cage, Christian Wolff, Pauline Oliveros, Andy Warhol, Robert Rauschenberg

and Jasper Johns. The music, lighting, decor and dancing often combine for the first time during the performance itself.

—Sally Banes

Sally Banes is a dance and theater critic in New York City.

Feb. 17-20	Texas Christian U, Fort Worth, Tx.
Feb. 22-26	U of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa
Feb. 28-Mar. 2	U of North Dakota, Grand Forks, ND
March 3-6	Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, Mn.
March 8-10	Iowa State U, Ames, Iowa
March 15-20	Roundabout Theater, New York, NY
Aug. 15-Sept. 3	Seattle, Wash.
Sept. 4-10	(To be confirmed) Pacific Northwest: Vancouver, B.C., Portland, Ore.

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MUSIC

Anderson birthday celebrated

Black singers in tribute to the woman who opened the door for them.

Contralto Marian Anderson—“America’s First Lady of Song”—was 75 years old on Feb. 17.

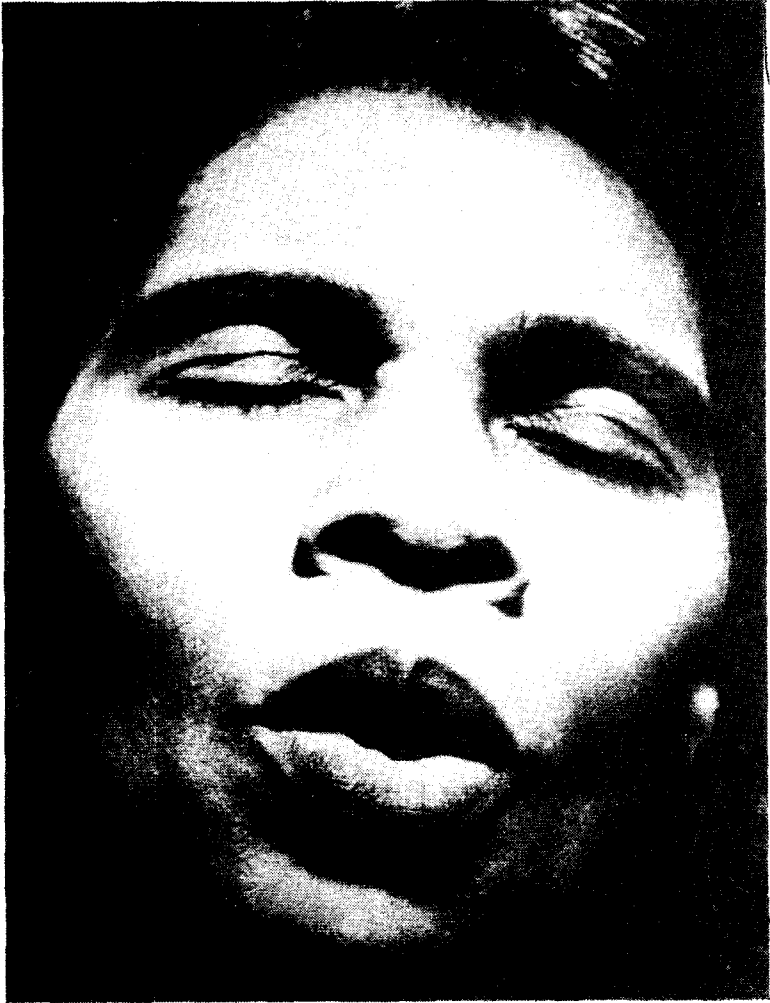
Ten days later the event will be celebrated in a Carnegie Hall concert. Other great black women singers, including Leontyne Price, will be on the program, acknowledging the debt they and their audiences owe to the woman who opened the door through which they passed to fulfill their musical potential.

The opening of the door was a dramatic event, the details of which have faded from the public memory. But in the atmosphere of a nation on the brink of a war against Hitler, the concert Marian Anderson sang on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial on Easter, 1939, had far-reaching consequences as a blow against Jim Crow in the capitol city.

Anderson was 38 years old, a great star in Russia, Sweden, and other European musical centers, but comparatively unknown in her own country. She had been invited to sing in the Howard University concert series, and application had been made to rent Constitution Hall for the occasion.

Constitution Hall was (and is) headquarters for the Daughters of the American Revolution. At that time there was a clause in the regular rental contract for the main auditorium prohibiting the appearance of any black artist. This was not unique at the time. (Blacks could not be seated with whites on the main floor of Washington theaters or restaurants.) But there was a special irony in the case of an organization whose members were descended from men who fought for American independence. Thousands of black soldiers had fought in the Revolution, and it was possible—as some journalist pointed out—that Marion Anderson’s forebears were among them.

The trustees of Howard took their story to the press, hoping for pressure that might persuade the D.A.R. governing board to



America’s “first Lady of Song.”

change its policy. A few days later, Eleanor Roosevelt wrote in a column, syndicated in dailies all over the country, that she was resigning “from an organization in which I can do no active work,” because to remain a member “implies approval of [their] action.”

Other distinguished women resigned from the D.A.R. Some local chapters voted to invite Anderson to sing for them. Others petitioned for a reversal of the ban. But the governing board was not moved.

Meanwhile the trustees of Howard had applied for the use of the auditorium of white Central High. This was refused on the same grounds. (Washington schools were strictly segregated.) When the student editor of Cen-

tral High’s newspaper wrote a protest editorial, the administration suppressed the entire edition—except for one copy, which was read at the climax of a large public meeting, attended by many members of the New Deal and leaders of the black community.

Under the chairmanship of Oscar Chapman, Undersecretary of the Interior, resolutions were passed urging the D.C. Board of Education to permit the use of the school auditorium and asking Congress to investigate the suppression of student opinion. Tremendous publicity was generated, but no response from the Board of Education.

The President and Mrs. Roosevelt invited Marian Anderson to sing at the White House on the occasion of a visit by the King

and Queen of England—a break of precedent at least as important as what was being asked of the D.A.R. No response from the governing board.

At this point, the “curmudgeon” of the Cabinet, Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, announced that he had invited Anderson to sing a free public concert on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial on Easter morning.

It was a cold, threatening April day, but a crowd estimated at more than 75,000 assembled on the Mall. The platform was occupied by dignitaries from the government, the heads of the two labor federations, religious leaders, newspaper publishers, the Mayor of New York City, a Polish-born symphony conductor, a famous actress whose father was a segregationist senator from Alabama, and a Supreme Court Justice who had once been a member of the Ku Klux Klan.

There was no accurate way of estimating the radio audience, but it is conservative to guess that millions of Americans heard that concert. (Portions of it will be rebroadcast this Feb. 25, over National Public Radio stations.)

Marian Anderson’s prestige in her own country sky-rocketed after that. It was she who broke the color bar at the Met when she sang the role of Ulrica in *The Masked Ball*. She was sent around the world on a concert tour sponsored by the U.S. State Department. She sat as part of the U.S. delegation to the United Nations. In the years since 1939 she has sung at least two charity concerts in Constitution Hall.

Never a militant, Anderson’s considerable contribution to the struggle for civil rights has been made for the most part by her superb musicianship and in part by her great personal dignity.

—Janet Stevenson

Janet Stevenson is the author of a biography for young readers, *Marion Anderson: Singing to the World*.

CHILDREN’S CORNER

Electric Company

I think it is a good show because it teaches younger kids how to read and because of how funny it is. I learned lots of words from the *Electric Company*, such as growl, beautiful, skinny and fat. Remember, I learned those words when I was five years old. They have this real silly dance about punctuation but it’s good for teaching kids punctuation.

I think it’s the first best show on Channel 11 of learning how to read. I think that lots of people even over 60 years old can’t read and that they should watch the show. Sometimes even younger. It might not teach them everything about reading (but at least most). Even my mother likes the show and laughs at the skits because sometimes it’s funny. And my brother who is 4 is learning a few words from the show like “No.” Hope you learn how to read!

Zoom

It’s not the best show in the world. They don’t do many recipes and in one group of *Zoom*, there are only two girls. My favorite part on *Zoom* is “Zoom play of the Week.” And lots of times, the stories. A boy named Red, in *Zoom*, broke his toe. But it healed in two days. But the best thing about *Zoom* is the friendship. I mean, they’re always playing and being together. They don’t dance as great as the Mickey Mouse Club—but I’d say they would come in 2nd. They usually do plays, active things, and send in *Zoom* cards to teach kids arts and crafts. But it is a very good show for people who really enjoy arts and crafts. I still like it. Hope you do too.

—Esme Raji Codell
Age 8

Esme Raji Codell hopes to be a sports writer.

DO YOU HAVE 10 FRIENDS



who should be reading IN THESE TIMES?

Send us their names, and we’ll send them each a free sample copy and a subscription blank. Hurry.

1. name	5. name
street	street
city/state/zip	city/street/zip
2. name	6. name
street	street
city/state/zip	city/state/zip
3. name	7. name
street	street
city/state/zip	city/state/zip
4. name	8. name
street	street
city/state/zip	city/state/zip
	9. name
	street
	city/state/zip
	10. name
	street
	city/state/zip



1.



2.

1. Frank Feingersh, Bill Bois, James Yates and Joe Drill returning home after fighting in Spain. 2. Lincoln Brigaders moving up.

Lincoln Brigade's fight against fascism

By Arthur H. Landis

There is no paradox in American military history to equal the phenomenon of that body of men and women who chose to call themselves the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and to fight for the Spanish Republic in the civil war of 1936-1939.

They generally abhorred war and considered all armies to be anti-life, a debasement of the human condition. Still, and herein lies the paradox, they committed themselves to a struggle more demanding than any suffered by American fighting units since the desperate years of the American Revolution.

Why would men who were opposed to war, who would greet a salute with derisive laughter, who had not the slightest qualm in telling their officers to "go screw yourself" if they thought the expression appropriate; why would men who, had they come of age in the 1960s, would have demonstrated in Washington, raised hell on every campus, and fought against the war in Vietnam with every fibre of their being—why did they do what they did?

They served as shock troops in seven of the greatest battles of the Spanish War. Eleven of the 12 commanders of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion (one of the four battalions of the 15th International Lincoln Brigade), were casualties. Seven were killed; four more wounded so badly as to be unfit for further service.

The Lincoln cadres—many with copies of Paine, Thoreau and Lenin in their pockets—suffered similarly. Of the approximately 3,400 volunteers, most were wounded one or more times; over 1,600 were killed in action.

Their shallow graves—when there was time for graves—still seed battlefields whose names once captured the hearts and headlines of the world: Madrid! Jarama! Brunete! Zaragossa! Teruel! the immortal Ebro!

Which answers the question.

For besides defending the government of Spain's Popular Front, they saw the conflict as that rare place in time and history where a catastrophe—World War II—a holocaust the like of which the world could only guess at then—might be averted or reversed.

After years of a struggle that cost one million dead, the policies of appeasement and worse of the Western world prevailed. Six months after Munich and the surrender of Czechoslovakia to Hitler, with only a trickle of Soviet arms to survive the thousand miles of submarine infested waters, the Spanish Republic was dying.

The Lincolns were pledged to fight to the end, as were all "Internationalists." The government, reflecting a humanism that refused to allow the remnants of the group that had given so generously of their blood and lives to be led to the final

LIFE IN THE U.S.

The climate for such a crusade was there. No other cause had evoked such an emotional and spiritual sense of urgency for personal participation. Spain's embassy in Washington reported 300,000 applicants to fight in the first three months of the war.

slaughter, released them—to be repatriated by the League of Nations.

On the eve of the death of the Spanish Republic, a morose American President stated bluntly to Claude G. Bowers, U.S. Ambassador to Spain "We have made a mistake; you have been right all along."

Had Franklin Roosevelt taken Bowers' advice: to "send arms to Spain," the Spanish tragedy would have ended differently. Indeed, all of subsequent history would have been different. There had been that possibility. Such men as Henry L. Stimson, Sumner Welles, Senators Pittman and Nye, and many others spoke up, too late, against "that frightful error in American foreign policy."

Within four days of F.D.R.'s remarks, Italian and Moorish divisions drove through Madrid's Toledo Gate. Within five short months, World War II, the catastrophe that the Lincolns had fought and died to prevent, was unleashed upon the world.

From whence came the men of the Lincoln Brigade? The answer is simple: from the "other" America, the anti-fascist 76 percent of the American people who solidly supported the Spanish Republic. The key word was anti-fascist (the Lincolns had so described themselves in the Spanish military ID books: "Philip Detoro: Anti-fascist; Joseph Gordon: Anti-fascist.") That was the catalyst that allowed Socialists, Communists, members of the I.W.W. and non-party students, workers, and seamen to find unity in action, without which they could not have done what they did. The concept is not alien. The essence of fascism: the denial of freedom, civil liberties, and human rights, has been with mankind since the first stones of the pyramids.

The Bill of Rights as a document is anti-fascist, as is the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. The Lincoln Brigaders had simply defined this quite basic phenomenon of the American spirit, gave it its proper name—and passed it on as a part of their heritage.

But anti-fascism too must be organized to be effective. In this respect the apparatus created to do the job was under the

auspices of the Spanish Government (funding), and the American Communist Party (personnel). The role of the American CP was second to none in leadership, solidarity, and sacrifice for the Spanish Republic. Without its efforts the Lincoln Brigade, as we know it, could not have existed, though many volunteers would still have made it on their own as did hundreds of Europeans in the cataclysmic, first weeks of the war.

The climate for such a crusade was there. Emotionally and spiritually there had been no cause to evoke such a sense of urgency—a need for personal participation. Spain's Embassy in Washington reported a fantastic number of American applicants to fight for the Republic—as many as 300,000 in the first three months of the war.

In effect, what must be recognized is that the volunteers themselves were the product of no single tendency. Indeed, they but reflected the logic of the ongoing American Revolution. In the mold of their Calvinist, Quaker, Grange, Knights of Labor, anti-slavery, and Socialist fathers before them, they had faced up to the social crises of their times.

Over a thousand Lincoln survivors joined the American armed forces for World War II, the anti-fascist war. They fought on every battlefield. Leyte. Anzio. Omaha Beach. The Ardennes. Their casualties were again heavy: over four hundred. And they returned to face an American power elite that had opted to take the place of Italy and Germany in the maintenance of Spanish fascism...

Across the ensuing decades of Franco's tyranny the cause of the Spanish people has been held high by the Brigaders. The great majority of these, in this last period, had no CP affiliation. Still, the other America, the Rockefellers, McCarthys, Nixons, and Fords, subjected them to the inquisition of the Subversive Activities Control Board.

The Lincoln Vets fought back, refusing to accept the designation of a "Communist front organization." Across the years they led the fight to sever relations with the Franco regime; to prevent Franco's

American-sponsored entry into the U.N., to withdraw American bases from Spain, and to reject the underwriting of Spanish fascism with billions of U.S. tax dollars. They fought, too, to save those inside Spain under sentence of death; to give aid to the families of prisoners; to initiate continuing campaigns for amnesty.

The U.S. Supreme Court, in 1965, threw out the case against the Vets—for lack of evidence. Thirty years of harassment; thirty years of battle.

Four decades have passed since that dark hour of betrayal and bitter defeat when the defenders of the Republic went to the sea-coast for the ships that weren't there; to the mountains for whatever short lease on life their protection would afford; to their villages—to await the arrival of the executioners.

The "long night" has come to an end. Fascism is dead, irrevocably. In Spain the new and "visible" rights are no gratuities either. Indeed, they have been seized, literally, by Spain's people, in the streets, factories, fields—and in the publishing houses. The Juan Carlos regime in fact can but legalize the acts already consummated. And that too is an irrevocable reality!

Returning Lincoln Vets, gray-haired, but with a certain sparkle to their eye, need but mention who they are to attract the plaudits of a crowd in any village, bar or plaza. Some were able to speak to underground youth groups as early as 1972. That same year a film was made in Spain by Abe Osheroff. The *Guardia Civil* deported his cameraman. But a few months ago that film, *Dreams and Nightmares*, was shown to crowds in Barcelona and Madrid with Osheroff, as a "Lincoln Vet," addressing the crowds.

And so the two Americas are again represented in Spain. Photographs of "Ike" and Kissinger and Nixon, in cozy rapport with *El Caudillo* are still fresh in the memory of Spaniards, as is their awareness that the U.S., through its embassy and its ubiquitous CIA, has been the prime instrument of their own suppression.

The one America, as represented by the men of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, is loved.

The other is not.

And so it is in America itself...

Arthur H. Landis, a Lincoln vet, is the author of *The Abraham Lincoln Brigade and Spain, the Unfinished Revolution*.

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